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ABSTRACT

A study was devised to determine why family planning communication in a Washington state village has been successful despite the lack of planned programs or focused attempts at directed change. Three major social organizational principles affecting family planning communication were analyzed: the occupational split between public employees and locals (the remainder of the population), the prevalence of age-grading in female grouping and friendship patterns, and the role of kinship in women's lives. Based on the assumption that important cultural elements surface in time from observing and interacting with community members, the study revealed two generalizations that crosscut the social organizational principles. The first, relating to the cultural significance of occupations, indicates that people categorize themselves and others according to occupation. The second generalization focuses on two features that characterize all three principles of social organization: individuals relate to others according to occupation, age-grade, and kinship; and values and choices are determined in the context of these relationships. (An analysis of the local homemaker's organization is appended.) (MAI)

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WOMEN'S COMMUNICATION AND FAMILY PLANNING IN RURAL AMERICA: THE CASE OF BUSHLER BAY

Carol J. Pierce Colfer

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ABSTRACT

Written as a comparative companion volume to Case Study 2, this report documents how family planning communication in a village in Washington State has obviously been very successful despite the lack of any planned programs or focused attempts at directed change in this sphere. It analyzes the three major social organizational principles in Bushler Bay that influence family planning communication: the occupational split between Public Employees and Locals, the prevalence of age-grading in female grouping and friendship patterns, and the role of kinship in women's lives.

Carol J. Pierce Colfer is currently executive director of PACT (Professional Anthropology Consulting Team) of Seattle, Washington. That involvement reflects her commitment to the use of anthropological knowledge in the solution of global problems.

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TO MY MOTHER – GWENDOLYN PIERCE

TO MY DAUGHTER – MEGAN COLFER

CONTENTS

Abstract	*ii*
Series Preface	*vi*
Preface	*viii*
Introduction	*1*
Voluntary Associations	*19*
Age-Grading	*41*
Kinship	*55*
Conclusions	*71*
Appendix: Bushler Bay Homemakers in Context	*79*
References	*89*

SERIES PREFACE

The case study research series developed from the expressed need of development program officials and communication scholars for more useful and timely information about some of the innovative ideas and practices that are being applied throughout the world today to solve problems related to family planning and population. Intensive studies of one or more cases have often proven useful for the creation of new insights into a problem, new theories and principles, or new techniques for planned programs of change. A case study of a particularly successful communication activity is also an effective way for program officials to break outside the bounds of current policies and practices. To be useful for this purpose, such studies should accurately describe the activity and then analyze its underlying principles so that they can be more easily replicated elsewhere with the appropriate modifications.

One of the unique aspects of communication programs for development, especially for family planning and population, is the tendency for planners and program officials to search for new ideas and practices in countries which already have had more experience with the same problem. At the same time, those in more experienced programs are often interested in the pilot projects of new programs for similar reasons: to see what kind of ideas and opportunities they might have overlooked. In 1968, for example, a study team from Indonesia went to Taiwan to conduct a case study of their fieldworkers. After a month's study, they returned to Jakarta and recommended that fieldworkers be added to their other IEC activities for family planning. In 1969, they conducted their own pilot project with about thirty fieldworkers. After correcting many of their selecting and operating procedures, more fieldworkers were employed, and by 1971 they had expanded to over 5,000 fieldworkers who were responsible for motivating over one-third of all family planning adopters. The case study of fieldworkers in Taiwan played an important role in the transfer of this communication policy to Indonesia.

There are many examples of this kind of transfer of policy alternatives. The India *Nirodh* campaign has directly affected Kenya's *kinga* campaign, and a similar project for subsidized condom sales through commercial channels is also underway in Jakarta. Ideas like India's intensive vasectomy campaigns, Taiwan's and Indonesia's record systems, programs for newlyweds, telephone answering services, postpartum education, functional literacy, and so forth, are discussed continuously and circulated through conferences and other forms of international communication.

A case study is intensive research whose primary purpose is descriptive or comparative analysis. It investigates an intentionally limited or restricted range of

phenomena in a relatively thorough manner. It is usually less concerned with providing a data base for the generalization of results than with more extensive, quantitative research. It is based on the assumption that it is sometimes more useful to know a "lot about a little, than a little about a lot." Although a "case study" has a misleading reputation for being relatively less structured than other types of research, it is not unplanned, nor does it lack a well-prepared, rigorous research design. Depending upon the specific topic and the purpose of the researcher, a case study may include quantitative types of data, as well as descriptive information. The definition of a "case" may range from "one day in the life of a fieldworker" to "twenty-five years of experience in China." The particular advantage of limiting the study to one case, or comparing a small number of cases, is that as new ideas and new sources of data are encountered during the study, they can be pursued and thus enrich the final analysis.

This research series will present a wide variety of case study topics: the use of mothers' clubs in rural Korea, the use of traditional midwives in Asia, strategies for increasing elite support for family planning in Kenya, (a comparison of organizational communication in two family planning agencies), a comparison of themes, slogans, and nonverbal symbols used for family planning communication, family planning communication in the People's Republic of China, the uses of commercial resources, and so forth. We have not attempted to include all of the important innovations in family planning and population communication. Many institutions and organizations throughout the world are also contributing reports of new, or especially effective, communication activities. To avoid an unnecessary duplication of effort, we have collaborated with other institutions who desired to study the same topic. We have also attempted to select topics which might have otherwise been overlooked, or under-reported. Finally, some preference has been given to activities where a substantial amount of information already existed, but had not yet been synthesized into a comprehensive report. All of the studies in this series were planned and conducted in cooperation with researchers from other institutions who were associated with, or knowledgeable about, the topic to be studied.

Case study research is in widespread use throughout the world today. With more planning and systematic direction, it can become an important means for sharing new ideas about mutual problems and for improving the implementation of communication policies and programs.

D. LAWRENCE KINCAID
Research Associate, EWCI

PREFACE

The research on which this case study is based was conducted over a period of three and a half years. Between December 1972 and October 1975 I resided in Bushler Bay (a pseudonym) and conducted ethnographic research as part of a large, multi-disciplinary research effort to document and evaluate the conduct of an Experimental Schools Project (funded by the National Institute of Education) in the local school. I was hired to research, analyze, and write up a case study on the cultural configurations manifest in the village and how these affected, and were affected by, the Experimental Schools Project.

A. Michael Colfer and I arranged an agreement with Abt Associates, Inc. (the research firm that won the contract to conduct this research) to share one position and conduct the research together. One of our motivations for this arrangement was our prediction that different information would be available to men and to women, and that together we could write a much more complete description of village life than either of us could do alone. This prediction proved to be quite accurate; we moved in very different circles and learned very different kinds of information.

The rather extreme day-to-day sexual segregation in the village combined with my interest in women's behavior patterns dictated a focus on women's lives in my own research. I soon became aware of the importance of the availability of birth control in the lives of the women of Bushler Bay, and began collecting data in my field notes on the subject early on. By the spring of 1975, I was sufficiently convinced of the importance of family planning for women that I attended the meetings of the Population Association of America to try to learn more about the subject from a disciplinary perspective. My chance encounter with Dr. David Radel of the East-West Communication Institute proved fortuitous--he told me about the Modular Professional Development Program in Population Information, Education, and Communication in which I participated in the fall of 1975.

During my stay at the East-West Center, I had ample occasion to learn and discuss the concerns of communications scholars in the field of family planning, and I discovered that my own research interests were exceedingly compatible with that field. Indeed, my interest in cognition and world view necessitated a preoccupation with communication in my research, in an effort to understand the perspectives of culture-bearers. I found that much of what I had written, besides being "anthropology," was based on the analysis of informal communication among culture-bearers.

The discovery of important parallels between my own research on women in groups and Dr. D. Lawrence Kincaid's study of Korean Mothers' Clubs (1975)

prompted the more focused study of family planning per se that I undertook in the spring of 1976, and which preceded the writing of this monograph.

The more focused, three-month study included weekly trips to Bushler Bay (during which I conducted relatively directed interviews with village women) and the circulation of a questionnaire on family planning communication and use of birth control, as well as a thorough search of three years' field notes to glean additional information. The more focused study served primarily to further corroborate my findings based on ethnographic research, but the discovery of one very important, and previously unknown, facet of family planning communication resulted from the interviews and questionnaire. I had grossly underestimated the use of male methods (particularly vasectomy) in the village, because of the fact that women do not discuss male methods among themselves. Ethnographic research depends in large part on observation and on person-to-person communication. Vasectomy is not observable (usually), and the infrequency with which it is discussed testifies to its taboo nature. Use of a male method, like personal income, is only shared with one's most intimate associates.

Because of the social structural importance of age-grading in intimate, interpersonal communication, because I was born in 1945, and because family planning is most vital to women in their twenties and thirties, my data are most extensive on women in that age range. Although in reality this focus is somewhat serendipitous (as with much anthropological data), such a focus is quite reasonable. Older women are typically no longer producing children. Younger women, particularly between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, typically have inadequate information about birth control and do not have ready access to supplies, although they are often sexually active and therefore subject to unplanned pregnancy. But access to information on communication patterns among women of that age range is exceedingly difficult. The age-grading mentioned above makes intimate communication unlikely enough (between researcher and teenager), but the common adult expectation (or hope) of premarital chastity further encourages secrecy on the part of young, unmarried women. Had I made wholehearted efforts to learn more about the knowledge, attitudes, and practices of teenage girls, my own rapport with villagers would have suffered, and the effort might well have had adverse effects on the school since I was considered by most community residents to be closely affiliated with that institution. My data on teenage girls come from a very few contemporary teenagers and from the reminiscences of young women in their early twenties about their own sexuality and access to birth control.

Women in their twenties and thirties are typically still having children, or have recently completed their families. Pregnancy and the use of temporary birth control measures are common in this age range, as is communication about family planning. In other parts of the world, women in this age range are often subjected to intensive and directed family planning efforts, so the Bushler Bay data are particularly useful for global comparisons.

Anthropologists have recently begun including brief sketches of their own position in the communities they study and their personal biases, in an effort to allow readers to better evaluate the contents of ethnographic analyses. The extreme reliance in participant observation, on the researcher as tool, adds a personal and

subjective element to such analyses, the disadvantages of which can be partially overcome by a bit of self-disclosure on the part of the researcher.*

As an American studying her own culture, I suffered under some anthropologically unusual handicaps. Rather than being granted the ignorance of a child, as one is in an alien culture, I was expected to know the cultural rules and to follow them. Mistakes were not easily forgiven. The result was a sort of three-year tightrope act in which I had to carefully balance my integration into the various subgroups within the community, and engage in considerable "impression management" (Goffman, 1959). Had I allowed myself to be "typed" in the community, I would have lost access to members of other social groups, and the research would have suffered.

Some aspects of my experience and lifestyle aided me in this attempt to remain active in, but uncommitted to, any group. Most community members had little or no experience with people with my educational background, my overseas experience, or my lifestyle. They found job-sharing and anthropology about equally incomprehensible. The fact that I worked for a private enterprise and had complete freedom to determine my own hours of work was helpful in some relationships; and the fact that the company I worked for had a contract with the "feds" helped me improve my rapport with others. My own age (27-30) gave me access to community age-mates, and my daughter's age (3-7) gave me access to the mothers of children her age.

I also modified my behavior to comply (within limits) with the appropriate behavior in different groups. Swearing, family planning communication, and other people's relationships were admissable topics of conversation in some groups. A preoccupation with pleasing husbands, education, and the children's welfare were more appropriate in other groups. Pant suits and even dresses were appropriate attire among certain women, whereas jeans were the only acceptable dress with others. Only rarely did I find myself in situations where two conflicting sets of expectations confronted me simultaneously (reflecting the nature of person-to-person communication in the village).

One of the stipulations included in my job was that I eschew any attempts to influence events in the community or school. My commitment to feminism sometimes made this difficult, but I complied with the stipulation to the best of my ability. The community's response to my feminism, insofar as they were exposed to it, was bewilderment. I did not fit the usual stereotype in the village of a "women's libber." I am not big, overbearing, lesbian, or hairy, and those facts alone probably had more effect on community views than any attempts I might have made to disseminate my point of view.

My research strategy, with the exception of the very focused final three months, included the assumption that the important cultural elements emerge in

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*See Nash and Wintrob (1972) for a compelling presentation of the arguments in favor of such self-disclosure.

time, from observing and living in the community I immersed myself in community activities and maximized opportunities to interact with community members. Although I entered the community with broad interests in the enculturation process, intra-community cognitive diversity, and women's behavior patterns, I felt (and feel) strongly that the reality of community life is best understood in the absence of rigid, preplanned research designs. I extract from diverse and long-term observations those cultural elements that recur and intertwine to make a cultural whole. Once that cultural whole is understood, more focused research is practical and reliable. Such is my bias.

It is important at this point to express gratitude to those who made this research possible. Primary thanks go to the women of Bushler Bay without whose hospitality, acceptance, and trust this work could not have been accomplished. Although many expressed (and still express) discomfort with the notion of "being studied," many, many people overcame that concern, and became not only informants in the traditional anthropological sense, but friends as well. I value the friendships and the confidences of these women doubly, because they were offered *despite* fears about the sincerity of my overtures ("Is she interested as a researcher or as a human being?").

The organizers and participants of the third Modular Professional Development Program in Population Information, Education, and Communication at the East-West Communication Institute provided invaluable knowledge, inspiration, and comparisons, and Abt Associates provided three years' employment for part of this endeavor, as well as airfare to and from Honolulu for the EWCI program. Particularly significant for the development of this case study were conversations with D. Lawrence Kincaid and John Middleton of the East-West Communication Institute; Bob Worrall, then the EWCI assistant director who headed the population communication program; David Kline from Harvard University; Jeff Tsai of the Chinese Center for International Training in Family Planning; Rufina Ancheta of the Philippine Bureau of Agricultural Extension; and Minda Quesada from the University of the Philippines. Cleo Hall of the Washington State Extension Service provided a valuable perspective on local efforts.

Of course the input of A. Michael Colfer cannot be measured. He and I worked together on the ethnographic analysis of community life, and his comments and critiques have been consistently constructive and useful. Our joint efforts at title creation have been the source of much laughter. The responsibility for errors, however, rests with me alone.

1

INTRODUCTION

Bushler Bay is branded "underdeveloped" by urban Americans. By urban American standards, housing is "inadequate," educational opportunities are "limited," employment and income levels are "too low," police protection is "sporadic," and medical facilities are "substandard." The lack of a public water system and a garbage and sewage disposal system, a local government, and the amenities of city living are shocking to urban dwellers, and arouse sympathy and/or disdain for those who live in Bushler Bay.

Economic development and growth are subjects of concern and debate in the village, and the county in which Bushler Bay is located has an "Overall Economic Development Plan." Many people are concerned about the disparity of economic and educational opportunities between young people in Bushler Bay and their urban compatriates. Few American villages are as isolated as Bushler Bay, and people differ in their feelings about this isolation. Some value it; others decry it.

Bushler Bay shares these external, uncomplimentary judgments and this ambivalence toward economic growth with most other villages on Earth. As such it provides the closest mainstream American* analogue to the villages of the developing world.

Among the many differences between Bushler Bay and other village settings is the family planning situation. The young women of Bushler Bay almost universally want only two children, plan to have only two children, and consider sterilization after they have had two children. They prefer one child of each sex, but in most cases accept two of one

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*Although a village composed of an ethnic or racial minority might be more analogous to much of the developing world, the purpose here is to document the patterns of family planning communication among rather typical rural Americans.

sex without further births. Fertile, married women who do not want to be pregnant practice birth control, and although many women disapprove of abortion, it is not an uncommon solution to contraceptive failure (or among unmarried women, to a pregnancy resulting from a lack of contraceptive use). Abortion was legalized in Washington State before the U.S. Supreme Court legalized it nationally.

Although married women have ready access to information, community approval, and supplies for family planning, unmarried women in their late teens are typically sexually active and do not have such easy access. Premarital sexual activity is extremely common, but a variety of factors related to values, to laws, and to communication patterns inhibit the availability and use of birth control methods among the unmarried. Consequently it is not uncommon for early marriage to result from pregnancy. Although such early pregnancy has a number of deleterious effects on the people involved, it is probably irrelevant with regard to the birthrate because of the firm position of the two-child family size norm.

Family planning all over the United States is, and has been, closely affiliated with the medical profession. It is therefore significant that Bushler Bay lacks any formal medical facilities. A few unemployed nurses reside there and operate a voluntary blood pressure clinic for older residents once a week at the community center, and in emergencies the ambulance is manned by volunteer emergency medical technicians. But residents must travel at least twenty-five miles to Customs Harbour (a pseudonym) for a doctor, clinic, hospital, or pharmacy. In the fall of 1975, Planned Parenthood opened a clinic two evenings a month in Customs Harbour that Bushler Bay residents may use, but the village has been untouched by any formal or organized programs to encourage family planning.

Village radios and televisions receive the many stations in cities across Puget Sound well, but family planning information is seldom broadcast. One occasionally hears a spot announcement about the clinics and facilities in the large (and relatively inaccessible) metropolitan areas. Family planning information is principally available from printed sources and from person-to-person communication in Bushler Bay.

The village women are universally literate, and many make considerable use of the printed media. Articles in women's magazines (available at every grocery store check-out stand) and books abound on

the subject of birth control, and married women read them. Married women also have access to considerable information from their doctors. Many doctors ask patients if they are using contraceptives and urge them to plan their families. Even the Catholic doctors in the area willingly prescribe birth control pills and other means of contraception. Virtually all babies are born in hospitals with an attending physician, and it is common for doctors or mothers to broach the subject in postpartum visits. All the doctors in the area are male, and doctors are the only males besides sex partners with whom women typically discuss family planning; furthermore, supplies for reliable family planning methods are only available from doctors. Birth control pills are only available by prescription, and doctors will not prescribe them without periodically taking blood pressure, checking weight, and often doing a pap smear. Only doctors can legally perform abortions and sterilizations, or insert IUDs. Condoms, jellies, and foam are available in a pharmacy without a prescription, but few married women have faith in these methods. Doctors are blessed with considerable "competence credibility" (Rogers, 1973), and appropriately serve as information sources about advantages and disadvantages of various methods.

The purpose of this report is to document how family planning communication occurs in a setting where it has obviously been very successful and fairly spontaneous. The focus of this research is on the specifics of day-to-day, informal communication within the village. The lack of any planned programs or focused attempts at directed change in this sphere requires a rather holistic and ecological approach to the subject matter.* Family planning communication is simply a part of daily human interaction, and as such is closely tied to (perhaps identical with) various social structural elements in the village.

The sexual segregation that characterizes the village during the daytime and the cultural definition of reproductive matters as a female concern, together dictate a strong emphasis on the communication patterns of women as most significant for family planning. Women discuss family planning with their husbands and sex partners (such communication is discussed in Chapter 5); but by and large women rather than men

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*An ecological approach has many advantages in the study of any family planning communication. Bom Mo Chung (1974, pp. 3-7) outlines some of these advantages, and makes a convincing plea for greater concern with ecological considerations in psycho-social studies of population.

learn about family planning methods, and decide whether to engage in family planning and what means of birth control to use. They make these decisions in the context of their pattern of relationships and their values relating to children, marriage, sex, and employment. This case study identifies the social structural features of Bushler Bay life that encourage and inhibit family planning communication.

Social Structure and Communication

Administrators of family planning programs have learned over the years that person-to-person communication is a vital element in people's decisions to adopt a family planning method, and communications scholars are beginning to study, in more depth, how such communication actually takes place. But the field of communications is new. It has evolved out of a conglomerate of disciplines and approaches most of which shared two basic elements: a devotion to large-scale survey research techniques (for example, knowledge, attitude, practice [KAP] surveys), and a focus on the individual rather than on the social context.

Ethnographic analysis shares neither of these biases common in communications research. But the nature of anthropological inquiry has in most instances required a heavy reliance on the observations of, and participation in, person-to-person communication to properly analyze and describe the social structure (and other facets) of the culture under study. A social structural unit is identified and so named on the basis of certain culturally significant traits (such as employment, age, or family among women in Bushler Bay) and communication patterns. The result is that though ethnographic analyses are not purposely focused on person-to-person communication, such analyses often inadvertently supply rather complete descriptions of the local patterns of interpersonal communication.

Similarly Rogers' recognition of the significance of homophily and heterophily* in the study of communication suggests a somewhat parallel situation, in which a communications scholar could inadvertently provide valuable data on the "traits" that define membership in a social

*Rogers defines homophily as "the degree to which a source-receiver pair is similar in certain attributes, like beliefs, education, social status, etc. *Heterophily* is the mirror opposite" (1973, p. 56).

structural unit and accompany frequent person-to-person communication in small-scale societies. His generalization that homophily and effective communication "breed" each other (1973, p. 57) is corroborated in ethnographic research. Considerable homophily and frequent and relatively effective communication among members typically characterize a social structural unit, and function to maintain its cohesion and distinctness from other analogous units. But there is an important distinction in ethnographic research that is lacking in the study of family planning communication, and that could add significantly to the practical value of such research.

Kenneth Pike first suggested the distinction between "emics" and "etics" in 1954. It is based on a cultural analogy to the linguistic differentiation between phonemics and phonetics. Phonemics is the study of sounds that are significant for meaning in a given language, whereas phonetics is simply the study of physically distinguishable sounds.* Pike suggested that a similar differentiation would be useful in the study of culture: Although myriads of distinguishable (etic) features could be observed in cultures, an understanding of the structure and order in cultures should focus on the (emic) features that were significant to the culture-bearers.

Marvin Harris, in 1968, urged anthropologists to shift away from the emic perspective, and undertake etic analyses based on the "principle of techno-environmental and techno-economic determinism" in a search for causal generalizations and greater predictive capacity in the discipline. But, as Harris says, "From an etic point of view, the universe of meanings, purposes, goals, motivations, etc., is thus unapproachable" (1968, p. 579). And that is precisely the universe that is of concern to the would-be family planning communicator. Indeed, an emic approach to communication is the only one possible if one agrees with Rushing (as I do) that "all human communication is governed by rules rather than laws, and is motivated by reasons rather than causes" (1976, p. 1). To

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*For instance, although in English the phonetic difference in the vowels in "bin" (/bɨn/) and "bean" (/bin/) is phonemically significant and signifies two separate meanings, in Turkish one phoneme encompasses both (phonetic) sounds. The word "bin," meaning "thousand," can be pronounced /bɨn/ or /bin/ interchangeably without affecting the meaning of the word. Although both sounds /ɨ/ and /i/ appear in both languages, the distinction is only relevant (or emic) in one: English.

approach such rules and reasons, one must learn what is significant in the culture under study—which brings us back to the notion of homophily.

Rogers differentiates between subjective homophily ("the degree to which a source or receiver perceives the dyad as similar or dissimilar in attributes") and objective homophily ("the degree of observable similarity-dissimilarity between source and receiver") (1973, p. 56), but such a differentiation distorts. An emic analysis indeed focuses on subjective homophily, or in anthropological terms, the way culture-bearers categorize others. But such categorizations invariably include an objective component.* An etic analysis arbitrarily selects objective attributes, and measures them, without regard to their cultural significance, or lack thereof.

For instance, in Bushler Bay an etic analyst (and most communications scholars) might well decide to include measures of income or education in an attempt to determine homophilous pairs. But the presence of such objective similarities is not a good predictor of communication behavior. In Bushler Bay, knowledge of other people's incomes is simply not available, and therefore cannot affect communication patterns much at all. Education is differentially valued among subgroups in Bushler Bay, and is exaggerated or minimized by individuals depending on their occupational affiliation. A Public Employee with a high school education avoids such a disclosure so as not to appear inadequately educated, but a Bushler Bay businessman with a bachelor's degree keeps it to himself to avoid the Local epithet "educated idiot."†

If family planning communicators are sincere in their wish to understand the world view or mind set or cognitive maps of their target audiences, they must concentrate on emic, or culturally significant, social distinctions, rather than simple etic distinctions. And the emic distinctions are not so difficult to learn. In Bushler Bay, people fairly quickly and easily learn each other's ages, relatives, and mode of employment

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*After all, if a (normal) source or receiver can "perceive" (subjective) differences and similarities, they must be "observable" (objective) in some sense. The implication that the perceptions of the researcher are objective but the perceptions of the source or receiver are subjective is not acceptable from an emic perspective.

†"Public Employee" and "Local" are analytical terms that refer to subcultural differences within Bushler Bay. These terms are explained beginning on p. 12.

—the culturally significant (subjective-objective) attributes that predict communication patterns.

The Organization of This Volume

The three attributes by which women typically assess homophily and communicate in Bushler Bay will be outlined in detail, following the brief ethnographic sketch at the end of this chapter. Husband's occupation, age, and family membership are simply the three most common principles, reasons, or excuses for extensive or close communication among women. The wives of one's husband's co-workers, one's age-mates (or the mothers of one's children's age-mates), and one's relatives simply provide a large pool of potential relationships from which women can choose their confidantes.

Since family planning communication in Bushler Bay has no special place, program, or formal affiliation, but rather is a manifestation of day-to-day, informal interaction, a discussion of how it occurs (and does not occur) requires a rather extensive discussion of general communication patterns in the village. Following the brief ethnographic sketch at the end of this chapter, there is a description of the extensive, voluntary associational opportunities that are available to and consistently used by women. These data are particularly interesting in comparison with the data provided by Kincaid and others in their study of Korean Mothers' Clubs (1975). Homemakers' Clubs apparently provided the prototype for the many women's clubs that are burgeoning around the globe. Such clubs in other nations are commonly concerned with rural development and family planning (for example, Korean Mothers' Clubs and Philippine Rural Improvement Clubs). It is interesting that Bushler Bay Homemakers' Clubs are among the least likely settings for family planning communication. Because of the significance of the American Extension Service in American rural development, and because of the adoption of somewhat similar methods in other nations for rural development and family planning, I have included a brief history of the Extension Service as it has developed in the State of Washington, with special reference to Jefferson County, where Bushler Bay is located (see Appendix). The comparison of the Bushler Bay Homemakers and the Preschool Parent-Teacher Association illustrates the differences between Public Employees and Locals in their norms of appropriate interpersonal and intra-organizational communication. Chapter 2 ends with a discussion

of the differences in family planning attitudes and practices that characterize the two groups.

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of the significance of age-grading in the communication patterns of women. American schools provide one of the most outstanding examples of age-grading extant in the world. Compulsory attendance ensures that most young mothers have spent twelve years in school themselves; their role as caretakers of children ensures their continued interaction with the school system as their own children progress through the same age-grading system. These experiences function to create and maintain bonds among women based on their own age-grade and the age-grades of their children.

The bonds created by age-grades also function to differentiate the young from the old, and have an important role in what is usually called the "generation gap." Inter-generational communication is subject to a variety of hindrances, and family planning communication is particularly unlikely between people of widely differing ages. Differences in family planning attitudes and practices are explored at the end of Chapter 3. The relative recency of reliable (and reversable) family planning methods results in considerable behavioral and life-historical differences among the generations.

Chapter 4 investigates the importance of kin links in family planning communication. The importance of the marital link in American kinship is discussed at length, as is the cultural definition of kinship as a female concern. Considerable family planning communication takes place within kin groups, but the role assigned to mothers in Bushler Bay is probably more significant than any intra-familial communication in limiting desired family size: (1) Bushler Bay mothers are bombarded with conflicting advice from friends, relatives, and media; (2) age-grading and the culturally defined obsolescence of advice from one's elders prevent a woman from relying on the advice of her mother or older female relatives; (3) the universality of the nuclear family and the cultural prescription that children are solely their mother's responsibility put a heavy burden on mothers; (4) Bushler Bay children are a financial drain, a luxury providing no current or anticipated economic return; and (5) once all small children are in school, women can seek further education or employment.

Following a discussion of the contributions that women's groups make to the improvement of the village, Chapter 5 makes a brief case for the preeminence of occupational affiliation as a personal identity marker

in Bushler Bay, and notes the significance of that preeminence for women's family planning decisions. The last discussion revolves around two important facets that characterize the three social organizational principles discussed in Chapters 2 through 4: a sort of limitless quality to the number of people who can be categorized by these principles, and the great degree of choice involved in the creation and maintenance of close relationships within the context of these three social organizational principles. But before proceeding to these detailed discussions of communication patterns among women, Bushler Bay itself needs to be presented.

The Ethnographic Setting

Bushler Bay, Washington occupies a narrow coastal strip at the head of a long, shallow bay in Puget Sound. Directly to the west of the village rise the high peaks of the Olympic Mountains, and lush forests threaten to close in to the south, west, and north. The natural environment is one of the richest in the world: The waters are full of fish and shellfish, the forests abound with deer, elk, and small game, and berries and mushrooms grow wild for the gathering.

But many consider the area less hospitable to the human inhabitants. Rainfall ranges from forty to eighty inches per year, and most days are overcast, despite mild year-round temperatures. Amenities that Americans have come to expect are lacking: There are no movie theaters, shopping centers, banks, or medical facilities. Education and employment opportunities are limited. And the village has no water, sewage, or garbage disposal systems. Housing standards and income levels are considerably lower than state averages.

Other residents come to the area precisely *because* of its lack of amenities. They seek escape from overcrowded cities with too many laws and too much crime, and hope for a simpler life in a more traditional environment. These urban expatriates resist the encroachment of urban-defined standards on rural lifeways and decry efforts at "rural development." But in the spring of 1976, much construction was occurring in Bushler Bay. A medical clinic was being built, as well as a bank. A new garbage disposal unit replaced the familiar "dump" in 1975, and an optometrist came to town and began practicing that same year. The real estate business is booming in anticipation of an influx of new residents, due to the construction of the Navy's Trident submarine base, some

forty miles east. With the birth of new opportunities and new amenities in the village comes the death of the American frontier. Like the rest of the developing world, Bushler Bay residents want both their traditional lifeway and the fruits of technological society, and disagree about the relative advantages and disadvantages of various innovations.

Bushler Bay is extremely isolated by American standards, having neither commercial bus, train, plane, nor ferry service. Transportation is by private car or, for children, the school bus. The "Happy Bus" takes senior citizens to Customs Harbour every Thursday for a nominal fee. The local formal communications system consists of biweekly news-sheets from the school, monthly news-sheets from the church and the community center, three bulletin boards, a reader board on the school grounds, and an occasional reference in the Customs Harbour weekly newspaper. Informal communication, which will be discussed in detail, involves the ubiquitous telephone and assorted meetings, as well as simple visiting and coffee klatsches.

Bushler Bay is traditionally a logging town, and the population is increasingly composed of Public Employees who work for the United States Forest Service, the U.S. Fish Hatchery, the Washington State Shellfish Lab, or the Bushler Bay Public Schools. Other industries include oyster farming and brush picking (the picking of bundles of salal and huckleberry leaves used in flower arranging). Local commercial endeavors of long standing include a cafe, an antique store, a barber shop, a beauty salon, and two small grocery stores. Since 1972, there have also been, at one time or another, another cafe, antique store, and beauty salon. An appliance store opened in 1976. The four gas stations and two machine shops testify to the importance of the internal combustion engine in the village. Summer tourists, loggers, and inhabitants use large quantities of gasoline and diesel fuel.

Tourism is important in the summer months, when the sun appears most regularly, when the tides are lowest in daylight hours (for digging clams, gathering oysters, and catching crabs), and when most Americans take their vacations. Highway 101, which follows the coast around the Olympic Peninsula and leads to the ocean beaches, passes through the center of Bushler Bay. The area surrounding the village is ideal for fishing (either in streams or in the Sound), camping, or hiking.

The only elected officials in Bushler Bay are the members of the school board and the fire marshal. They receive no remuneration for their services. The village is unincorporated, and is dependent on Customs

Harbour for most governmental functions. The local school board has the right to request a special school levy (tax) from the citizens within the school district. This school levy is based on property values and is added to property taxes collected by the county. The monies from such a special levy, however, must be spent on the school district in which the levy is passed. The school levy has become an annual occurrence in Bushler Bay, as well as most other Washington school districts. The fire marshal is responsible for the fire department and works with about twenty volunteer firemen.

Customs Harbour, the county seat, is twenty-five miles north of Bushler Bay. County and state offices in Customs Harbour license, tax, inspect, and regulate in the ways usually accomplished by a town government. Citizens go to Customs Harbour for legal aid, the courts, licenses (marriage, driving, automobile, business, etc.), welfare, unemployment compensation, medical care, and the satisfaction of most commercial needs.

Clearly such a political situation leaves a void of authority within the village. This void is filled by the activities of voluntary organizations made up of community members. Such affiliation provides an opportunity for various kinds of communication, particularly among women, so community organizations will receive more treatment in Chapter 2.

Since the village is unincorporated, exact population statistics are impossible to determine. The number of residents of Bushler Bay has been estimated to be between 300 and 600 people. The Bushler Bay High School District, which had 1,062 registered voters in 1975 (Jefferson County voter registration), had 1,998 inhabitants in 1970 (U.S. Census 1970). The number of registered voters in the Elementary School District was 745 in 1975 (Jefferson County voter registration). Both school districts encompass neighboring hamlets, however. In addition to the lack of boundaries, the population fluctuates throughout the year. In summertime, the area is far more attractive from the standpoint of employment. The State Park Service, the U.S. Forest Service, and Washington State Shellfish Lab all bring in summer help. The logging, brush picking, and oyster businesses require considerably more labor in the summer than in the wet winter months. The area is also inundated with tourists from the larger population centers across Puget Sound and with the relatives of residents on vacation.

The mobility of Bushler Bay residents is great relative to the rest of the world. Table 1 shows the responses of ninety-nine randomly

selected residents of the high school district to the question, "How many years have you lived in the school district in which you now live?" Long-term residents note that the population increases in the village when economic conditions in nearby cities are unfavorable. The cost of living is lower in Bushler Bay because of the lush natural environment. Fish, deer, elk, shellfish, berries, and many edibles are free for the hunting or collecting, and the soil is rich for cultivation.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICT

Years	*Number*	*Percentage*
Less than 1 year	5	5.1
1 - 5 years	24	24.2
Greater than 5 years, but less whole life	61	61.6
Whole life	8	8.1
Uncodable	1	1.0

Source: Muse, 1974.

The most impressive social structural feature of the town is the split between Public Employee families and the remainder of the community (herein called "Locals" for lack of a better term). In the town, this distinction is most often referred to as being between the "Forest Service" and the "Loggers," but each category actually includes other occupational groups as well. Over the years, as government has widened its hegemony, the number of Public Employee families has increased to nearly equal the Local families. Included in the Public Employee groups are the families of male employees of the school system, the Forest Service, the Shellfish Lab, the Fish Hatchery, and the Park Service. The Local group includes loggers, oyster harvesters, businesspeople, and brush pickers. Although male occupation is the best *indicator* of group affiliation in the village, an individual's value system is the real determinant of social interaction. For instance, a few public employees who do not subscribe to the Public Employee value system associate almost exclusively with Locals. Conversely some Locals by occupation behave in a manner more compatible with the Public Employee value system and

choose Public Employee friends. More usually, though, there is considerable avoidance between the two groups and very little social mixing among the men. Women's interaction patterns are mediated by other social structural factors that will be discussed later.

The two groups differ in regard to lifestyle and values. Public Employees tend to be oriented toward the bureaucracy of which they are a part. They like activities to be organized and efficient. Their approach to life is universalistic. Although the term class is somewhat misleading, the behavior of the Public Employees more closely resembles the American stereotype of the middle class lifeway. Public Employees receive steady, year-round incomes; they are frugal and interested in acquiring the material symbols of the middle class. Their predictable, steady income allows them to plan their consumption patterns more accurately than can the Local population. Their vacation time accrues at a steady rate, as does sick leave, and they look forward to adequate (and early) retirement income. Their employment is a fixed fact, and other aspects of their life can be planned, scheduled, and organized around that fact.

In the winter of 1973, there were a little over 100 full-time public employees residing in Bushler Bay. Public Employee families then probably account for about 350 to 400 individuals, some of whom live in neighboring hamlets. The age range of Public Employee adults is twenty-five to fifty years of age. The number of students in the school who are clearly a part of this group is far lower than the number of Local children, but apparently this derives from the clustering of Public Employee families in the village proper, and the preponderance of Local families in the outlying areas that the school serves. Other data suggest that the birthrates are not significantly higher among Locals than among Public Employees.

As members of gigantic bureaucracies, the Public Employees tend to be very mobile. In 1976, no professional Forest Service personnel had been in Bushler Bay longer than fourteen years, and many transfer out in a matter of months. As with most rural schools, the teacher turnover is very high as well (in 1972-73, almost half the teachers left). This mobility ensures a paucity of kin ties within the town, and an orientation that is outward and toward the bureaucracy. Using kin ties as an indicator of Localness, the data in Table 2 indicate the relative mobility of Public Employees as opposed to Locals. Indeed, many Forest Service employees and their families describe the Forest Service as "one

big happy family." Public Employees tend to socialize and spend all their time with their own families of procreation, and with other Public Employee families. Teachers see teachers, Forest Service employees socialize with Forest Service employees, and so on. Leisure time is spent in private homes or in organized activities such as Homemakers or school board membership.

TABLE 2. THE MOBILITY OF LOCALS AND PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

Years in Residence	*Locals no. (percentage)*	*Public Employees no. (percentage)*
Less than 1 year	0	5 (7.8)
1 - 5 years	5 (14.3)	19 (29.7)
Greater than 5 years, but less whole life	22 (62.9)	39 (60.9)
Whole life	7 (20.0)	1 (1.6)
Uncodable	1 (2.9)	0

Source: Muse, 1974.

Despite the high mobility of these families, many Public Employees are native to the Pacific Northwest, and have kin ties in towns and cities not too distant from Bushler Bay. The vacation time of Public Employees is often spent with relatives from other places. Close ties are maintained with kin, despite the distances.

In contrast with the Public Employee pattern is the Local lifeway. Rather than embracing middle class values like propriety, education, and upward mobility, the Locals identify with pioneer values: independence, generosity, bravery, and honesty. Life is seen through a particularistic lens. Logging, the most common, the most dangerous, and the most romantic profession for Locals, has considerable symbolic value in the village. One of the few occupations still available in America where the extra physical strength of men is still necessary for many jobs, logging is intertwined with the Local notion of manhood. A logger faces death

and the real danger of injury daily,* and not all men have the physical strength and the psychological make-up to do the job.

Manhood is closely affiliated with sexuality, and, by extension, so is logging. A logger lewdly grins about "driving his Peter"† (Peterbilt is a truck manufacturer) and caring for it in a variety of ways. A local woman proudly displays a picture of her husband, standing in front of a log truck, completely filled with the single, enormous tree he has just felled, and comments, "Now there's a man."

The dirt and exhaustion that accompany a logger home after a long day, and the frequent injuries to loggers, testify to the combat between man and nature in that environment. The taming of natural forces has long been an American preoccupation (see de Toqueville, 1960), and that preoccupation is alive and well in Bushler Bay.

The combination of danger, admiration, and the draw of the immense, powerful machines used in logging are, to many, sufficient to outweigh the financial insecurity and temporary nature of logging jobs. Loggers' incomes fluctuate wildly with the seasons. In the summer months (if the forests are not closed due to fire danger), work is plentiful. But as winter draws near, the snows gradually close off the forests in this mountainous region, leaving loggers without work. Nor are the fluctuations predictable, except in very gross terms. How early the snows will prohibit logging or how dry the summer will become are not subject to human intervention or prediction. Likewise, the international lumber market has a very real effect on the incomes of loggers. Such economic conditions prohibit the kind of planning possible for (and extremely desirable to) Public Employees. Few loggers have found jobs that include vacation, sick leave, and retirement benefits. On the other hand, when they do work, they are better paid than are Public Employees. Oyster farming, brush picking, and even the tourist trade, are likewise subject to the capricious whims of nature, and Local incomes suffer or prosper accordingly.

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*_Newsweek_ reported that Pacific lumbermen have the highest probability of "violent accidental death," according to Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (June 10, 1974, p. 64).

†Peter is also an American slang expression for a penis.

Local people are less likely to spend their money on the acquisition of the symbols of middle class life. The avenue to Local prestige begins with generosity, including housing relatives in need, buying rounds of drinks at the Local tavern or sponsoring a community party, and contributing to various community projects. Many Local families build their own homes gradually over the years. When one's income fluctuates in the manner of loggers' incomes, making regular house payments or paying rent is an unattractive option. And many Local families have access to land through inheritance. When Local families do have more money than they need for their needs and generosity, they are likely to spend it on further capital investment–logging trucks,* equipment, land to log, and so on–or buying "hot cars," rather than on symbols of middle class life (for example, a lovely home a well-kept lawn, stylish clothing).

The number of Local families is impossible to determine in the simple manner of Public Employees, since place of employment is far from constant. Likewise, kin ties extending into the neighboring hamlets and mobility among hamlets blur the boundaries. But considering the overall population figures and the number of houses in the village, it seems very probable that there are about the same number of Locals as there are Public Employees in Bushler Bay proper.

The sex ratio in the town is about equal according to the 1970 census. But the summer months bring an influx of young men to log and work in the oyster beds, as well as additional Public Employees. Both men and women pick and package brush, so this economic activity probably has no effect on the sex ratio. Again depending on the natural fluctuations, some men leave town at different times of the year to log in other areas, coming home on weekends. These trips depend entirely on the availability of work and are not simply seasonal, though the onset of snow does tend to drive men further afield to seek work.

Although many Local families have kin ties in other places, and even other parts of the country, they are virtually all heavily embedded in a local kin network. Kin ties are called into play for economic cooperation, childcare, assistance in time of need, and for recreation.

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*Logging trucks receive lavish care from their drivers, including frequent new paint jobs and washing, as well as beautiful interiors (rolled and pleated upholstery and other unusual features).

Where Forest Service families rely on each other for such day-to-day services, Locals often turn to their relatives. The isolation of the area and lack of services conspire to require cooperation among people. Trading services and goods has a long tradition* in Bushler Bay, and Locals frequently rely on kin for such exchange. Bricklaying, plumbing, wiring, childcare, canning equipment, cake decorating, and similar services, skills, and tools are commonly traded.

Leisure activities are significantly different among Locals than among Public Employees. First, leisure activities are often segregated by sex among Locals, in contrast to the nuclear family orientation of Public Employees. Secondly, leisure activities are more public for Locals. Men congregate in the tavern or cafe in the afternoons. Women occupy another area of the cafe, or assemble at the beach with their children.

Though evening leisure activities are not always segregated—for example, dancing at the tavern or a party—the emphasis is not on husband-wife interaction. Local people are far more likely to know each other, have bonds with each other, and a tradition of ties holding them together (or apart). Where the Forest Service couple is a recent addition and the marital bond is stronger than any other bonds in the community, a Local couple may well know other people in the community *better* than each other, or at least as well. Ties among men, ties among women, and ties among children are far more apparent than are the ties between spouses.

The contrasts and recurrent tensions between the two groups inhabiting the village are pervasive. The Public Employees' jobs include activities that impinge on the freedoms of Locals to pursue their economic interests unhindered. The Forest Service supervises the vast national forests from which the loggers cut much of the timber. The Forest Service likewise enforces the many rules and regulations which surround logging on national forests. Comparably, the Shellfish Lab has certain responsibilities relating to the supervision of oyster farming, clam digging, shrimping, and other economic activities relating to shellfish. The school, which is permeated with the Public Employee outlook on life, cares for the Local children nine months of the year, seeking to form the children's outlook on life in a more universalistic vein.

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*See Colfer and Colfer (1975) for a history of Bushler Bay.

The Public Employees see Locals as lower class, uneducated, underprivileged, and sexually promiscuous. The Locals see Public Employees as lackeys of the bureaucracy without independence of thought or action, practical know-nothings, and slaves to middle class propriety. Neither stereotype is accurate in an objective sense, but the stereotypes have a reality in the village as guides to interaction and the categorization of human beings.

The Public Employee-Local split is an important aspect of village social structure, but it is not the only one. In addition to membership in an occupational group, people group for friendship and join voluntary organizations in rural America. The majority of these groups are composed of women, and family planning is a legitimate topic of conversation in some of these.

2

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Participation in voluntary associations is a time-consuming and common female activity in Bushler Bay. The nature, numbers, and functions of Bushler Bay's formal voluntary associations will be portrayed in the first section of this chapter, followed by a comparison of a female voluntary association dominated by Public Employee women with one dominated by Local women. The description of Bushler Bay Homemakers is particularly interesting in light of the similarities and differences between it and similar rural development and family planning clubs in developing nations. In the last section intra-village similarities and differences in communication norms, particularly with regard to family planning communication and behavior, are discussed and might serve to alert family planning communicators to similar variation in other countries.

Warren (1965) and Hsu (1963) have both noted the tendency for Americans to form many clubs and associations, and Bushler Bay residents would be the first to agree with them. Warren suggests that

> Undoubtedly one of the reasons for this plethora of associations lies in the nature of our society, in which large areas of important activities have been left for action outside the official channels of government (1965, p. 285).

Bushler Bay, with virtually no governmental structure of its own, and with very little representation in the county government (over half the entire county population lives in Customs Harbour) certainly has large areas of activity not attended to by the official government.

But Hsu offers an alternative interpretation. He believes that Americans form so many clubs and associations mainly "for the satisfaction of their basic needs for sociability, security, and status," which

he feels are met in China by the clan and in India by caste membership (1963, p. 209). Sociability (the communication component) and security are certainly sought in Bushler Bay's women's groups, but the degree to which status can be enhanced by such membership is questionable. Hsu's data are largely from urban, midwestern, and relatively elite settings, where status advantages are more commonly associated with membership in certain clubs. But in Bushler Bay, status differences are not so marked. Purposeful exclusion from formal women's groups is unheard of; indeed, status for the overall group rises as membership increases, since more members means more help on various projects. Help is always in short supply. Barriers to membership in clubs are inadvertent, and derive from different ideas about appropriate interpersonal communication and mutually uncomplimentary stereotypes between Locals and Public Employees rather than purposeful attempts to exclude others.

The Clubs of Bushler Bay

A look at the overall patterns of village associations are important before proceeding to a detailed discussion of two clubs that serve women in their prime reproductive years. Besides formal "clubs" (to be discussed shortly), there are a variety of rather similar phenomena called "boards" that are usually elective or appointive, the members of which have responsibility for some special building or activity (for example, the school board, the community center board, the Presbyterian Church board, and so on). Usually composed of older men and women, these positions are filled by cajolery and appealing to people's sense of community responsibility. Unless some issue or controversy is at stake in the community, people appear reluctant to take on the added responsibility, time, and work that inevitably accompanies such membership.

Boards are responsible for hiring the minister of the church, the superintendent of the school, and the person in charge of the community center. Community feelings about these employees weigh heavily on board members. If villagers dislike the employees, board members are urged to fire them, and blamed for bad judgment in hiring them in the first place. Anxiety about such probabilities makes people ambivalent about accepting positions on boards.

A number of rather familiar organizations exist for young people in the village, including the 4-H Club, the Girl Scouts, the Boy Scouts,

the Little League, and the Youth Club. Such groups impinge on the adult world by requiring transportation, chaperones, coaches, teachers, judges, referees, and various volunteer activities. Such efforts with pre-adult groups are largely supplied by women, with the exception of those activities connected with sports. Both men and women help with the Little League, and other activities in which only boys have traditionally been allowed to participate.* As young people proceed through the grades in school, their entertainment activities are increasingly organized at the school and renamed "extracurricular activities." By high school (ages fourteen to eighteen), almost all activities are organized at school. Volunteers (for chaperoning, helping the coaches, providing transportation) are sometimes needed, but the bulk of organizational responsibility has shifted from the parents to the school.

The significance of the sports program at the school is felt throughout the community, as sports events, unlike any other activity, are attended by all ages and all segments of the community. Until 1974-75, the sports program was for boys only (with the exception of eight cheerleaders). The adolescents group, in the school context, to plan and raise money for dances and sports-connected activities. Fund-raising efforts include car washes, community dinners, the sale of stationery, candy, crafts, and direct solicitations for money for specific projects like the school annual. It is easy to see the genesis of the grouping patterns of adults in the way adolescents are taught to group in the school.

More ephemeral groups spring up from time to time, with more specific interests and goals. The community choir, which has had sporadic existence since 1974, appears to be on its way to becoming an established organization. Village mothers group from time to time to influence decisions or policies in the school, coming together, organizing, and disbanding when their goal is accomplished, for example, to prevent smoking on the school grounds (1973) or combined classes (1974). Members of an evangelistic religious commune just north of town organized a block of forty-five votes in 1973 to defeat the levy if certain changes were not made in the school system (most notably firing the

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*Recent governmental rulings have made such single-sex activities increasingly difficult, since they are considered discriminatory, and therefore potentially illegal. From 1974 to 1976, the number of sports activities available for girls expanded dramatically, and girls now participate in basketball, the Little League, and track and field events.

superintendent). A group of men approached the school board en masse to influence the school administration's decisions about coaching in the school in 1975.

But the heart of formal adult association is in the seventeen clubs, fifteen of which are segregated by sex. Men can join the Masons, the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), Lions International, and the Volunteer Firemen. Women can join the Grandmothers' Club, the Order of Eastern Star (female auxiliary to the Masons), the VFW Auxiliary, the Garden Club, the United Presbyterian Women (UPW), the Presbyterian Circle, the Royal Neighbors of Woodcraft, the Bushler Bay Homemakers, the Bay Homemakers, the Preschool Parent-Teacher Association (PPTA), and the Bushler Bay Cooperative Preschool. The membership of the Community Club and the Grange comprises both men and women.

There is a very significant difference between those clubs composed of older members, and those composed of people in their "productive years." The latter are characterized by a rather clearcut differentiation between Public Employees and Locals, whereas the former are not. Old people, regardless of their former occupation, associate with other old people, by and large, following the age-grading principle discussed in Chapter 3.

Clubs serve vital communication functions in a village where there is little in the way of formal communications media. When someone needs to "spread the word," the most efficient way is to telephone an officer or a member of each club in town, and request that they make an announcement at their next club meeting. This two-step method is sufficient in simple information dissemination, but more active involvement is seen as necessary when persuasion is part of the communication. For instance, members of the committee that forms to pass the school levy each spring feel that they must personally attend meetings, present the arguments in favor of passing the levy, and be available for questions from the club members. The clubs can be used as resource pools for the acquisition of labor, money, donations in kind, or organizational ability as well. The following discussion will give a perspective on the membership, kinds of activities of the various clubs, and community reactions to them. Contrary to Tiger's predictions (1969), men's clubs are both less ubiquitous and less active than are women's clubs in Bushler Bay.

The VFW is a patriotic organization, composed of men who have served in foreign wars. It is a nationwide organization that concerns itself with the lives, recognition, and care of its members, but it has

relatively little impact on community affairs, despite its large membership. The VFW and its female auxiliary had 150 members in 1972 (Colfer and Colfer, 1975). Such figures indicate formal membership; in all cases active participation in club activities varies, but is considerably and consistently smaller. Since overt forms of patriotism are not in vogue among the young, most VFW members are older and many are retired. They own a building in the village that they rent to groups or individuals fairly frequently for dances, parties, flea markets,* receptions, and the like. This building is the only reasonably large building in town besides the tavern where alcoholic beverages can legally be consumed, so it is somewhat in demand.

The Masons, with 83 members, belong to a worldwide group with a long history and a tradition of secrecy, but like the VFW, they have little impact on the daily community life. Branded "just a bunch of ritual" by many people, the membership is largely older men. The Masons also have a building that they occasionally rent, but the consumption of alcoholic beverages on the premises is prohibited by higher levels within the organization (indeed, a few years back, the Bushler Bay's Masons were formally chastised for just such an offense), so many festive groups eschew usage of the building. Each fall they sponsor a potluck dinner for the new teachers in the school, at which everyone is welcome.

The two other men's clubs—the Volunteer Firemen and Lions International—are among the most active in the community, and their efforts are appreciated by community members. The Volunteer Firemen, numbering around twenty members, save people's lives and property consistently throughout the year, and they also sponsor the very popular annual Firemen's Ball to raise money for fire fighting equipment. Many have obtained special training as emergency medical technicians and operate the village ambulance when necessary. Their efforts serve truly vital needs, and are correspondingly valued by the community at large. The Volunteer Firemen are young and middle-aged men, and this is the only context in which working Public Employee men and working Local men come together in voluntary association.

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*At "flea markets," individuals who wish to sell something (household duplicates, handmade crafts) rent a table and display their merchandise. Villagers come and buy what they want at very low prices. Haggling, seldom possible in regular stores, is common.

The Lions Club, with about thirty formal members, is recognized for its charitable work, as well as a variety of contributions to the community. Lions contributes money and medical references to people in the community with sight problems. They have knowledge and access to information about proper places for treatment and ways to obtain financial aid, from which many community members have benefited. They annually help the Community Club organize the Timber Festival. They have built shelters for the children to stand in while waiting for the school bus (much appreciated in such a rainy clime) and concession stands for the sports field at the school, spearheaded a drive to raise money to buy an expensive scoreboard for the school's football field, and run a weekly bingo game that provided very welcome entertainment for many villagers, as well as a boon to their treasury. Most Lions are middle-aged Locals.

The Grange and the Community Club stand out as clubs composed of both sexes. The Grange, with about 100 older members is among the largest clubs in the village, but its activities are not very evident in community life. It is basically an association concerned with agriculture, and the relationship between timber production and conventional agriculture is shaky. Members have access to special insurance and a small-scale credit union, as well as in-group social functions.

The Community Club, with only five active members (four of whom are middle-aged women) is highly regarded in the village, and is solidly Local. A Community Club member (female) receives all the mail addressed to the "mayor"* and another member (male) receives all the mail addressed to the "Police Department" (neither of these exist). The Community Club helps maintain street lights in the village; it organizes and sponsors the Timber Festival each spring, including the very expensive "Miss Bushler Bay" Contest; and it organizes the annual Salmon Derby. Members of the Community Club (open to all) are respected for their willingness to work to maintain the customary celebrations of the village, and for the much appreciated street lights.

The profusion and varied memberships of the eleven women's clubs are in direct contrast to the women's clubs reported for the Korean

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*When asked if this were true, she responded "Yeah, I'm the mayor's secretary." Mayors are almost always male in the United States, but secretaries are almost always female.

village of Oryu *Li*, where the same group of women merely accepted new names and new functions as required of them:

> . . . there is only *one* group of women who quite easily change their name from Mothers' Club, to New Life Club, to NVM Women's Club depending upon which officials are visiting the village, or upon the main topic or activity of their meeting (Kincaid et al., 1975, p. 53).

In Bushler Bay, whereas one woman may belong to more than one club, the majority of membership was duplicated in only two clubs, and those clubs eventually merged because of that duplication. Clubs are seen as serving different purposes *and* different members. When two clubs both serve the same purposes or the same members, conflict and/or change result. The fact that any two clubs (of the appropriate sex) usually share at least one or two members provides a system whereby those individuals serve as communication channels between groups. This minimizes duplication of effort and conflicts in scheduling of activities and fund-raising projects, and encourages the dissemination of information, the coordination of activities, and the accessibility of various resources. But what do these clubs do?

The VFW Auxiliary and the Order of Eastern Star are the female affiliates of the VFW and the Masons, respectively. Membership in these clubs is only available by marriage to a member, and one is hard-pressed to distinguish between the activities of the male and female organizations. The fact that the Order of Eastern Star has 120 members and the Masons number only 83 is undoubtedly indicative of the advanced age of members (given the longer life expectancy of American women). The Royal Neighbors of Woodcraft (with 10 members) shares with the VFW Auxiliary and the Order of Eastern Star a lack of involvement in community affairs, and is subject to the accusation of being "overly ritualistic."* Members have access to insurance programs by participating.

The Garden Club, composed of about twenty older women, is principally an agent of education about horticulture and decorative gardening. They were affiliated with a state-wide organization concerned

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*"Overly ritualistic" refers to the traits of assigning formal titles, engaging in elaborate, cabalistic rituals to transfer such titles, or to give awards, and learning –sometimes secret–non-rational formulae or speech.

with gardening, but in 1974, opted to terminate their affiliation because they felt that the gains from such affiliation were insufficient to warrant the effort and money required to sustain their membership. Members serve as resource people for the rest of the community, in matters pertaining to small-scale cultivation, and share their own areas of expertise with other members at their meetings. The community functions of the club include such things as the provision of bouquets and flower arrangements for sale on Mothers' Day, the care and upkeep of the Presbyterian Church grounds, and beautification of the village cemetery.

The United Presbyterian Women (UPW) most consistently offers educational programs that deal predominantly with welfare, the needy in other cultures, and wider activities of the religious group. Each meeting has a speaker or educational program of some sort, and a different local organization is invited each time, as special guests of the UPW. The members take responsibility for serving at and cleaning the church after funerals and weddings, and they make monetary donations to church expenses every year. They also traditionally send various items of clothing and bedding to the church's missions in Alaska and other countries. Fund-raising activities of the UPW include rummage sales, participation in the flea markets periodically held at the VFW hall, and community auctions of handmade quilts or other desirable items. The twenty or so active members are typically middle aged, and very active in community affairs.

The Presbyterian Circle is a small discussion group aimed at enlarging the experience and knowledge of its ten members. Although closely affiliated with the Presbyterian Church, not all programs are expressly religious or morally oriented. The Circle makes use of its own members as resource people, with a different member planning the program each time.

The Garden Club, the UPW, and the Circle represent Bushler Bay's closest approximation to the American stereotypical "women's club." American folk prejudices notwithstanding, these groups provide valuable services and information to their members and to the community. Members share periodic potluck dinners, trips, and various programs, as well as surprising one another with wedding or baby showers (though most of the members of these three groups are past the age of reproduction).

Bushler Bay has a large retired population, and many of these people have no relatives in the village. Their membership in such clubs

is one of their main sources of human companionship. Members call on one another, report to the clubs when one of the members is ill, arrange visits and send get-well cards, and arrange transportation for those too old to drive. For older residents, the clubs serve as sources of sociability and security in a very real sense.

Women in their twenties and thirties, with which this research is principally concerned, congregate in the two Homemakers' Clubs, the Preschool Parent-Teacher Association, and the Preschool Co-op.* The Preschool Co-op, with around ten active members, was started in the spring of 1972 by a group of women in the Preschool PTA who had three- and four-year-old children. The women arranged space in the Presbyterian Church, hired a teacher, canvassed the community for other interested mothers, collected toys and equipment, and set up the preschool. The preschool usually has two classes, one for three-year-olds and one for four-year-olds, and each class meets twice a week for two or two and a half hours. Mothers serve as teachers' helpers on a rotating basis.

Community activities of the co-op are usually dictated by their need for funds to pay the preschool teacher. Tuition is $10 a month, but that is insufficient, and extra fund-raising activities are necessary. Mothers feel that raising tuition would preclude some families from participating, and they are unwilling to "penalize" the children simply because their families have little money. Typical money-makers include rummage sales, bake sales, and dances. The recurrent shortage of money ensures that members spend considerable time and effort together, and communication among members is frequent.

The two Homemakers' Clubs—the Bushler Bay Homemakers and the Bay Homemakers—were one club until 1972, when they split because of size, and both derive their lessons, meeting agendas, and organization from the same source: the U.S. Extension Service. The Bay Homemakers has a considerably wider age range than does the Bushler Bay Homemakers, but is otherwise nearly identical. Since the split, considerable competition has grown up between the two groups, though

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*The data for this section were collected, mainly, in 1973. In the spring of 1974, Preschool PTA and Bushler Bay Cooperative Preschool merged because of a perceived duplication of membership and effort. The description of PPTA in the next section represents the 1973 reality.

members are quick to point out that each new group was originally chosen by "drawing straws" (a way of ensuring random division).

The following sections will include a detailed description of the organization, purposes, and styles of communication among members of two groups. The Bushler Bay Homemakers is dominated by Public Employee women, almost all of whom are "with the Forest Service," and the Preschool PTA is a Local organization, both historically and contemporarily. The differences between the two organizations are reflective of the ramifications of the occupational split in the community on the lives of women, and also on the prevalence of interpersonal family planning communication.

Bushler Bay Homemakers' Club (BBH)

Homemakers' Clubs are found in rural areas, and more recently in cities as well, all over the United States. In the State of Washington, in 1975, there were 375 Homemakers' Clubs (Hall, 1976). They are designed to disseminate research findings of the land grant colleges, on subjects relevant to homemaking, to women who need such information. Because of their important role as prototypes for the many women's clubs springing up all over the globe to encourage national development and family planning, a brief history of the U.S. Extension Service–with particular reference to the State of Washington and the role of Homemakers' Clubs within that service–is provided in the Appendix. The parallels and differences between Bushler Bay Homemakers and the Korean Mothers' Clubs (Kincaid et al., 1975) are instructive, in terms of organization, styles of interaction, and family planning communication norms.

The twelve active Bushler Bay Homemakers have an average age of thirty, with a median age of about twenty-eight.* All are married and have children, and only one is married to a man who does not work for the U.S. Forest Service. Membership in the club is theoretically open to all women, but the actual membership is remarkably homogeneous.

The stated purpose of the BBH is to learn about homemaking.

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*The data for this section were collected in 1973. BBH has grown to over twenty members in 1976, and has considered another fission due to size. The club retains its defining characteristics.

Homemakers' Clubs are defined as,

> A group of six or more women who work together for the improvement of their homes and communities—and who recognize that education is a continuing process (Washington, County Extension Homemakers' Clubs, 1973, p. 3).

"Homemaking" includes such topics as handling finances, frugal shopping, food preservation, consumer education, menu planning, interpersonal relations, and other topics, dependent on the mesh between the interests expressed in the County Council (composed of representatives from each Homemakers' Club in the county) and the expertise and resources of the county extension home economist. The members also acknowledge the club's importance as a "social outlet," a chance to get together with other women.

As members of the Bushler Bay Homemakers' Club, the women are part of the nationwide, governmentally supported Extension Service; they, like their husbands, are part of a bureaucracy that reaches to Washington, D.C. The extent of the BBH participation in this larger organization is considerable. The County Council is a body of Homemakers who bring the concerns and interests of their respective clubs to the extension home economist, and determine, with the home economist, the contents of the clubs' monthly agendas, the thrust of monthly newsletters from the home economist, and the needs of the various communities. Two members of the BBH serve as officers in the County Council. Throughout the year considerable correspondence occurs between the BBH officers and the higher levels of the association. In general, information on homemaking flows downward to the BBH and reports flow upward from the BBH.

BBH meetings are highly structured and organized. The Homemakers follow parliamentary procedure fairly closely. A mimeographed agenda exists for every meeting and is faithfully followed. On the third Wednesday of each month from September through June, the women assemble at the home of a different member. At the beginning of each year, a paper is passed around and women sign up for the month on which they wish to host the meeting. Another paper is passed around on which women volunteer to attend the lessons arranged by the extension home economist—two women attend each lesson. When dues are paid, the member receives the little booklet that contains the year's agendas for

each meeting. Included in the booklet are very specific instructions about the conduct of the meeting. A song has been chosen for each month as well as a lesson topic, and the topics and the words to the songs are printed at the back of the booklet. Attendance is taken, and each member must answer a preselected question when her name is called, for example, What is your favorite trick to save time? or What did you do for Christmas? Each month a member volunteers to provide the "inspirational reading" for the next month, and a different committee chairperson is required to contribute some bit of information on the activities or concerns of her committee each month (for example, safety committee, international committee).

Informal talking is allowed for a half hour, the next hour is devoted to club business, and the last hour is reserved for the lesson. Visiting and informal or non-relevant discussion during the business meeting or the lesson is rather strictly curtailed by the president. There is an ethic that recognizes the responsibility members take on as members, and individuals are expected to do their share. If a person has not volunteered to go learn the lesson for close to a year, pressure is applied by other members to persuade that individual to do her part.

Each year a form is filled out by each Homemakers' Club called the "Standard of Achievement." The data recorded include such information as number of meetings held, number of community learning experiences sponsored, attendance, number of new members, and so on. An award is given to clubs that meet the Standard of Achievement, and the BBH has reached that standard every year since its inception. The members are concerned with "following the rules," and "doing things the right way."

The hostesses usually prepare rather elaborate refreshments and serve them in their best dishes, and the members dress more formally than usual. Formal childcare arrangements exist, and each member gives fifty cents per child to the secretary-treasurer, who then pays the baby-sitter.*

In 1973, the community activities of the club included the provision of volunteers for the Timber Festival (coordinated by the Com-

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*When BBH and Bay Homemakers split in late 1972, the two reasons given were (1) the membership (twenty-four) was too large for accommodation in private homes, and (2) the number of children was too great for the baby-sitter to care for.

munity Club), organization of several informal classes taught by community members (for example, Chinese cooking, appliance repair, sewing with knits), and several special dinners for members at restaurants in neighboring cities, in addition to their monthly "lessons." Financial costs associated with membership are minimal. The dues are two dollars per year, fifty cents of which disappears up the organizational ladder of the Homemakers. The annual contribution to the high school's home economics class seldom exceeds twenty dollars. In 1974, an innovative member suggested having an auction once or twice a year, in which members bring donations of old clothing, canned goods, hand-sewn items, or anything else that might sell, and auction the items off to friends and fellow members. The first auction raised about forty dollars, an amount far exceeding the usual balance in their treasury. The auction now has a firm place in Homemaker activities.

Preschool Parent-Teacher Association (PPTA)

In contrast to the Homemakers, with their wide-ranging bureaucratic affiliation and extremely organized format, is the Preschool PTA. The PPTA was originally organized in 1949 by a Local woman with preschool children, and until the spring of 1973, was formally a member of a state-wide PPTA. At that time, however, the members (like the Garden Club members) decided that the dues paid to the larger organization were yielding no advantage to the local PPTA, so formal affiliation was broken. Although all women with preschool children are theoretically members of the PPTA, most of the ten active mothers are members of the Local population, and have children at or approaching the age of kindergarten (five).* Most PPTA members are in their early twenties. The ever-changing percentage of Public Employee women in PPTA is greater than the percentage of Local women in the BBH, but the PPTA retains its predominantly Local flavor.

The stated function of the PPTA is to serve the interests of preschool children. When the organization began, no kindergarten existed in Bushler Bay. In 1949, the PPTA formed a cooperative kindergarten that continued until kindergarten was included in the regular public

*All clubs in Bushler Bay are subject to extreme fluctuations in membership interest and commitment; the PPTA is no exception.

school program, and the organization maintains an active interest in kindergarten affairs. In 1973, this interest manifested itself in donations of equipment, organized offers of volunteer labor for the kindergarten, and active lobbying to keep the kindergarten a self-contained classroom.* In addition to the interest in the kindergarten, the group organizes community parties for all preschoolers at Easter, Halloween, and Christmas. At Christmas, the PPTA traditionally stages an appearance by Santa Claus, atop a fire engine, at the local cafe.

The dependence of the BBH on the U.S. Extension Service (for educational materials, expertise, organization) is matched in the case of the PPTA by their dependence on community goodwill. Children's events require considerably more resources (money, time, and goods) than do the educational "happenings" of BBH, and to support these activities, the PPTA runs the relatively lucrative community calendar. The PPTA members divide the community into nine areas, and each mother takes an area. She then contacts every household in her area to take orders from the community members who want their family's birthdays and anniversaries included on the calendar or who would simply like to buy it. The women then compile the information and send it to a company for printing. The calendars are inexpensive: Most community members buy them and most community businesses buy advertising on them. This project provides about $300 per year for the PPTA. Other fund-raising activities include the sale of sandwiches at the Lions' weekly bingo games, the organization of community dances, bake sales, and rummage sales, and the annual bid for dozens and dozens of eggs at Easter.

The PPTA, in contrast to the BBH, is a very informal organization. Young mothers, clad in jeans, gather on the first Monday evening of each month of the school year, in the high school home economics room. Members, officers and otherwise, often arrive late, and plastic coffee cups and paper plates are constantly refilled with the refreshments provided by the "hostess" for that month or anyone else. Despite the existence of formally elected officers, no attempts are made to abide by

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*A "self-contained classroom" is one in which the children are all in the same age-grade. In small American schools, where enrollment is subject to fluctuation, it is common to combine grades when one class is deemed too small to justify the salary of one teacher. Bushler Bay residents find this practice very objectionable, and go to great lengths to avoid it.

parliamentary procedure or to finish the business quickly. Although an occasional speaker is brought in for a meeting, most meetings focus on the accomplishment of the next traditional task (for example, the Easter egg hunt, dividing up the work for the calendar project, or who is to arrange Santa's arrival).

The informality of meetings carries over to the accomplishment of PPTA goals. The PPTA members met, for instance, to decorate the site of the Easter egg hunt and to dye the Easter eggs. The president arrived a half an hour late, there was only one pan, there was no hot water, dye, paper, grass, candy for the Easter baskets, staplers, or scissors. No one knew how many eggs would be donated or how many children to expect at the hunt. Gradually as the evening wore on, women left and went home for the necessary articles. No one directed anyone else, although there was some discussion of who had gone to get what.

Each year the PPTA sponsors these same children's functions, but there is little transfer of information from year to year. PPTA members display a marked aversion to any kind of behavior that could be considered "bossing" or directing others. Decisions are by consensus, or else someone decides to do whatever needs doing herself. Efficient accomplishment of the task at hand (dyeing Easter eggs) is considered less important than everyone's enjoyment of a pleasant, convivial evening together. For Local women, the PPTA provides a legitimate excuse to leave their children at home with their husbands and to enjoy the company of their friends. It is noteworthy that despite their cavalier attitude toward "efficiency" the tasks *do* get done.

Communication and Family Planning

Before proceeding to a discussion of specific differences in family planning communication and practices between Public Employees and Locals, some understanding of the communication norms for women in general is instructive.

Some family planning research has focused on the identification of opinion leaders, on the assumption that such leaders, once convinced themselves, could convince others. But seeking opinion leaders in Bushler Bay is a frustrating and useless task. One can attribute the lack of leaders to enculturative pressures that urge people to make up their own minds and not to accept the opinions of others, or to opposing enculturative pressures that require mutual conformity among age-mates

and acceptance of the dictates of those in authority (generally people with competence credibility). Pressures of both kinds permeate the school system.

Regardless of the reasons, virtually all women show aversion to telling other adults what to do, and most retreat from leadership positions wherever possible. Positions of leadership, such as the presidency, or the vice-presidency, are, in most cases, filled by cajoling and pleading, and sometimes even by misrepresentation of the duties of the office. Such positions require large expenditures of time and effort, and considerable emotional trauma since a president is expected to organize, assign duties, direct activities, and generally lead other club members, in one manner or another, but such behavior is contrary to the usual and expected female role. Consequently, presidents do not lead much, except in the routine manner of keeping people to the schedule, as at BBH meetings, or passing around papers for people to sign up for duties once a course of action has been decided upon by consensus. One anonymous Washington Homemaker wrote of her perceptions of presidency:*

> If she writes a letter, it is too long; if she sends a postcard, it is too short,
> If she issues a newsletter, she is a spend-thrift.
> If she attends a committee meeting, she is intruding.
> If she tries to safeguard the interest of the club or group she wants to run everything.
> If she doesn't, she is letting the club or group go to the dogs.
> If the attendance at meetings is slim, she should have gotten the committees busy.
> If she has done this, she is a pest.
> If the dues are called for, she is insulting.
> If they aren't collected, she is blamed.
> If she is in good humor, she is a party girl,
> If she isn't, she's a sorehead.
> If the program is a huge success, the committee is praised.
> If it is a failure, it was the president's fault.
> If she mixes with the members, she is partial.
> If she doesn't, she is too "ritzy."
> If she asks for advice, she is incompetent,
> If she doesn't, she is bullheaded.

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The usual pattern of decision making goes something like this: A group member suggests a course of action. If one or two favorable comments are made, the action is immediately voted on and passed unanimously. If anyone comments unfavorably, the suggestion may be dropped, or it may be reworded slightly and put forth again. If negative responses still continue (even if from only one person), the matter is dropped. The effective taboo on public conflict precludes most debate on the subject. If the dissenting individual is absent from the next meeting, the author of the suggestion may well bring it up again, and the suggestion may be passed. The dissenter then has the option of simply absenting herself from the course of action, or of changing her views. People are felt to be "entitled to their opinions," and attempts are seldom made to change the opinions of others.

A would-be initiator of some action also has the option of suggesting the action in some other context. She can bring it up at another club, or visit several clubs seeking contributions or volunteers, or she can form her own informal and ad hoc committee to accomplish her goal. Most rejected suggestions that I have observed were not strongly disapproved of by others, but rather simply not deemed important enough for the effort required to accomplish them. The one exception to this was the very controversial school levy of 1973. Consistent with the community value of allowing others their own opinion and avoiding conflict, I was not exposed to the anti-levy viewpoint to any degree, because I was perceived to be in favor of the levy. My job as observer of a project in the school labeled me, to most community members as "pro-school," despite efforts to indicate my neutrality. That many people opposed the levy is clear from the failure of the levy to pass the first time around. In three years research I have never witnessed an argument between women.

When some sort of leadership is required, if the action desired is to be accomplished, frequently two people will be co-organizers, or often the one chairperson will simply do all the work herself rather than attempt to direct the actions of others. A woman who plans to suggest a course of action at a given meeting will sometimes call a friend whom she knows to be sympathetic to her point of view and ask the friend to agree with her at the meeting, to back her up.

Women are also reluctant to put forth any suggestion that would obviously benefit themselves or their family. One woman for instance, complained when working for the passage of the school levy, that she felt like she was "begging people to pass the levy for my children's sake."

Interorganizational conflict is more common than interpersonal conflict. The PPTA and the Preschool Co-op, for instance, perceive themselves to be in conflict for limited community resources. Both groups need to raise money to perform the services they customarily provide (parties and gifts to the kindergarten from the PPTA and the provision of a cooperative preschool, including a teacher's salary and the necessary toys, equipment, and supplies to maintain the preschool, from the Preschool Co-op). In 1973, many Co-op members felt that the Preschool PTA was usurping too many money-making activities. The PPTA ran the relatively lucrative community calendar project and Co-op members felt that was sufficient. The PPTA overstepped the acceptable boundary when it had a bake sale right before a planned Co-op bake sale. Besides the financial greed this represented, Co-op members begrudged the time the bake sale took. Most Co-op members were also members of the PPTA. The following year no additional money-making activities beyond the calendar project were undertaken by PPTA.

Within these rather broad parameters of appropriate female interaction, there are some very significant differences between Local and Public Employee communication patterns, as manifest in women's groups. Although women join Homemakers partially to increase their chances to communicate with other women, this goal is considered subordinate to the "business at hand," which is learning about homemaking and community improvement. Learning about homemaking has a righteous air to it, whereas visiting with one's friends is frivolous. The frivolity associated with informal communication is clear in the efforts of presidents to maintain the time-schedule in the agenda. "Come on now, we can't fritter away the whole afternoon." "Let's get down to business; we've had over half an hour of visiting." "Time to get to work."

Such efforts by BBH presidents differ from leading, in that BBH members all agree to the importance of keeping to the schedule. They are in agreement that only half an hour should be devoted to informal conversation; the president is merely taking responsibility for that joint agreement (and enforcement of a decision taken at a higher level when the agenda was constructed). The BBH members abide by the schedule whether they are interested in the subject matter or not, when some of their members know more about the subject than the home economist preparing the lesson, and in spite of a lack of respect for the expertise of the extension home economist.

The pleasurable part of a Homemakers' meeting, though, is the half hour of informal communication. The women discuss the care of their children and husbands, the school, and controversial issues in the village. In the spring, when the school levy is much on people's minds, Homemakers tend to discuss and plan ways to ensure its passage. In 1973, when the levy battle was particularly acrimonious, the women of the village organized a Mothers' March for the levy, and distributed petitions against combining early grades (for example, first and second grades in one classroom). Although neither activity was confined to the BBH, the meetings provided a place to discuss the issues, to increase support, and to plan strategy.

But women never discuss sex, childbirth, intimate relations with their husbands, birth control, or extramarital liaisons (either their own or others') at Homemakers' meetings. Such topics are considered to be in "bad taste" rather than extremely taboo. These women do discuss such topics with their husbands, their doctors, in informal groups of two or three age-mates, and often with female relatives, and they read about them in books and magazines. If a lesson were planned on the subject of family planning, in conjunction with the extension home economist, such a lesson would most likely be received in much the same manner as any other lesson. But informal discussion of such topics is considered "gossip," and occupying one's time with gossip is even less acceptable than frittering away one's time with frivolity.

Among Homemakers, the informal conversation among women is seen as a pleasurable, but unnecessary, adjunct to the "real business" of learning a lesson. But for PPTA members the business of planning and paying for children's events acts as a culturally acceptable "excuse" for pleasurable, informal communication among women. The fact that throughout Bushler Bay, the spheres of household maintenance and childcare are clearly female domains points up an important difference between the marital relationships of Public Employees and Locals. The Public Employee women in Homemakers manifest a sense of duty about learning homemaking, a certain righteousness in the proper and studious performance of their proper role that emphasizes their solidarity with their husbands. Their moments of informal communication are measured and likely to induce feelings of guilt. But the Local PPTA members, recognizing the general cultural agreement that childcare is their responsibility, make use of this to carve out freedom for themselves from the

authority of their husbands. Although husbands see PPTA membership as a legitimate maternal duty, Local women emphasize their solidarity with their female friends by agreeing openly among themselves that their interest in children's activities, though important enough, is secondary to their enjoyment of each other's company.

PPTA members discuss their children, complain about their husbands, and comment on the school and community events that interest them. Sex, childbirth, and birth control are also interwoven into the overall tapestry of their lives. Local women, enmeshed in the community's life and related to other community members, are more inclined to know about and be interested in the activities and relationships of others in the community. Although such Local conversation is labeled "gossip" by Public Employees, the integration of Local women in the community kinship system gives them a greater legitimate interest in the private lives of others than can be claimed by Public Employee women who are not so integrated. Discussion of one's sister's unplanned pregnancy or one's mother's hysterectomy indicates genuine interest and concern more often than the malicious intent associated with "gossip."

Nor is communication at PPTA meetings limited to family planning and related topics. Information about the levy of 1973 was disseminated and support was sought through the PPTA as well as the BBH. PPTA members were active in promoting and participating in the Mothers' March, and many activities are initiated, organized, and accomplished in the PPTA context. But such accomplishments occur in the context of spontaneous, informal communication rather than as part of a rigidly organized agenda.

Such patterned differences in communication serve as particularly potent barriers to sustained cross-group interaction. Local women who attend BBH meetings typically only come once or twice. And Public Employee women who participate in PPTA events are plagued by frustration. In the spring of 1974, a Local woman expressed interest in Bushler Bay Homemakers, and was sincerely urged to attend by members. She attended two lessons, at which point a few of the members began good-naturedly badgering her for her two dollars dues. At her third lesson, the badgering became still more pronounced. This sort of slightly insistent encouragement is common among Homemakers in attempts to get people to pay dues, to go hear lessons, to head committees, and so on. It is not common, or approved of, among Locals. The relatively wild fluctuations in the incomes of Locals as well as the strong

value attached to generosity may well account for the prevailing assumption that "she'll pay if she can." The Local woman stopped coming to Homemakers.

A few Public Employee women came to the Easter egg dyeing meeting described earlier. They were openly thunderstruck about the lack of equipment and supplies, and particularly about the fact that nobody knew how many eggs or children were expected. They assume the preeminence of the business at hand over informal conversation, and "helpfully" try to keep everyone at their work. Local women interpret such "help" as high-handed interference in the pleasurable conduct of life. Different values, assumptions, and ideas about proper interpersonal communication serve to ensure that most interaction merely reinforces the uncomplimentary stereotypes that each group holds about the other.

Despite the very real differences in communication patterns between Local and Public Employee women, both groups very consistently practice family planning. Certain recurrent differences exist, however, in their reproductive behavior. Public Employee women tend to marry and start their families later than Locals. The results of the small survey corroborate my conclusions based on ethnographic research. The average age of Public Employee women in the survey at first marriage was 21.1 years, and at first child was 24.4. Local women married at 17.4 years, and had their first child at 19.2.

It is quite common for Local Bushler Bay women to have married because of pregnancy, but premarital pregnancy is uncommon among Public Employees. The unwillingness of Public Employees to discuss such matters may have resulted in underreporting of such experiences, but other data substantiate the overall accuracy of the generalization. In the survey, no Public Employee woman reported marrying because of pregnancy, and only 20 percent had a child within the first year after marriage; over half the Local women reported being pregnant when they married the first time, and 75 percent had babies within a year of marriage.

In the past, family size has been somewhat larger among Locals than among Public Employees, but there is near unanimity among all young women that two is the ideal number of children. Fieldnote data on family size yielded an average size of 2.3 children for Public Employees (n=28) and 2.5 children for Locals (n=67). Survey data (n=26) yielded an average of 1.90 for Public Employees and 1.92 for Locals. In an effort to determine the average family size of older women, an analysis

of a sample of 30 percent of the families with children in grades two through twelve in 1973 yielded the following averages: Public Employees–3.6 children, and Locals–3.9 children. The effects of maternal age on family planning communication and behavior in general will become clearer in Chapter 3.

Summary

The importance of the voluntary associations in the transmittal of information and the evolution of public opinion in a relatively isolated village without localized mass media cannot be overestimated. Any attempts to transmit information or to persuade people on a large scale inevitably make use of the club meetings as channels for communication. The fact that women are the most numerous and active club members gives them a central position in the information network of the village. The cultural definition of family planning as women's concern, and their central position in the intra-village communication system, help to ease the spread of family planning information, and other cultural factors (to be discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5) serve to make the adoption of family planning methods logical to women in Bushler Bay.*

*Women are also central to the other channels for local communication: As mothers of school children they receive the various newsletters; situated in the village all day, they make extensive use of home visiting, telephoning friends, reading bulletin boards around town, and generally exposing themselves to the communication events of village life.

3

AGE-GRADING

Friendships among the women of Bushler Bay typically occur between age-mates, and family planning communication is far more likely to occur in the context of close, intimate friendships than in any other context. This chapter discusses the genesis of such a reliance on age-grading and the social facts that sustain the principle of age-grading in the lives of women, as well as the nature of intra-village variation in age-graded communication patterns. The last section outlines the variations in family planning communication, attitudes, and practices among women in their teens, twenties, thirties, and forties. The rapid rate of change in America ensures far greater differences in experience and perspective between generations than is common in traditional societies and functions to emphasize the bonds of homophily among age-mates. But the school is the most obvious structural perpetrator of age-grading.

The Genesis of Age-Grading

Bushler Bay children *must* enter the public educational system at the age of six.* Registration in first grade requires presentation of a legal birth certificate proving that the child has attained six years of age (or will attain six by early October), and children who have attained that age are required by law to attend school. From then on the child remains with that class (barring important learning disabilities), proceeding from grade to grade. What she learns, with whom and in what way all depend on her age-grade. The commitment of Bushler Bay adults to "self-contained classrooms" in the early grades has already

*At age five, they *may* attend public kindergarten, and at ages three and four, they may attend the age-graded Cooperative Preschool classes.

been mentioned, and is in effect a commitment to the concept of age-grading. When she reaches junior high school (at age twelve), her classes are no longer self-contained in so rigid a manner. She and her classmates go from room to room (and teacher to teacher), but nearly all her classes are still with her age-mates.

High school signals a significant change, and an apparent widening of the concept of age-grading. Although a core group of classes are required of all students of a particular age-grade, students may choose "electives" for some of their classes, and electives include students from other age-grades. But congruent with this curricular relaxation of the principle of age-grading is an increase in extracurricular activities associated with a particular age-grade. There is a cultural packet of tradition, activity, and lore associated with each of the four grades of high school, including expected behavior patterns, class organizations and officers, class functions, and class prerogatives. There is an expectation that each year's "graduating class" will maintain some sense of its cohesion, and reassemble at five or ten year intervals for "class reunions."*

Most Local women have not obtained much additional schooling beyond high school and still maintain their sense of membership in the high school class with which they graduated. A higher percentage of Public Employee women finished college. Almost none attended Bushler Bay High School, so Public Employee women cannot participate as fully in the age-graded association patterns of other adult women as can Local women, and I will return to this.

For all women in Bushler Bay the age-grading system retains its hold, because of their role as caretakers of children.† For a woman who has grown up in Bushler Bay there is a natural, uninterrupted flow from the woman's own age-graded life history (progress through the school system) to her status as a mother of a child of a given age-grade. Her twelve or thirteen years in the public school system are usually

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*Salamon (1975) describes the friendship patterns of middle class, married Japanese women, and notes a similar maintenance of intimate ties that originated in school: "Those childhood friends whose friendship has been reinforced through years of attending school together are spoken of as one's most intimate friends" (p. 155).

†The significance of this role in women's lives is illustrated by the difficulty women without children face in trying to make friends.

immediately followed by pregnancy. Her child's birthdate tells her who her children will attend school with, and she schedules the child's entrance into preschool such that the child will be part of the "three-year-old group" and then the "four-year-old group" and progress into kindergarten in the proper year. Her child's entrance into school is reflected in her own life by her eligibility for membership in Preschool Co-op, then Preschool PTA, and so on, culminating, in old age, with membership in the Grandmother's Club.

Women's status and the status of their children are intermingled. Women who are friends tend to be of the same age-grade and tend to have children at the same time. Children of the same age are almost universally in the same age-grade, and mothers of children in the same age-grade are thrown together in numerous situations, thus reinforcing the initial bonds between the women. The importance of motherhood (and age-graded motherhood, at that) in the categorization of women is reflected in the common practice of referring to women as "the mothers." "The mothers" are further subdivided into categories according to their children's ages and age-grade affiliation (see Figure 1). The reality of the integration of the mothers in their children's age-grade is further reflected in women's common, somewhat humorous, statements about having "graduated" out of preschool, or into first grade (motherhood).*

Although "new mothers" have no organizational affiliation available to them, on the basis of this status they are the object of sympathy and concern by other mothers. Sharing the state of pregnancy and the experience of childbirth typically strengthens existing bonds between the mothers and sometimes creates new bonds based on shared interests, concerns, problems, and experiences, as well as the knowledge that mothers of children of the same age-grade can look forward to continued shared experiences.

Co-op mothers communicate very consistently. The financial instability of the Cooperative Preschool requires the organization and execution of constant fund-raising projects. Mothers of three- and four-year-olds, saddled with sole responsibility for these active children twenty-four hours a day, rely on other mothers for companionship,

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*See Shirley Radl (1973) for a discussion of the pervasiveness of the school in the lives of American women from a rather different perspective.

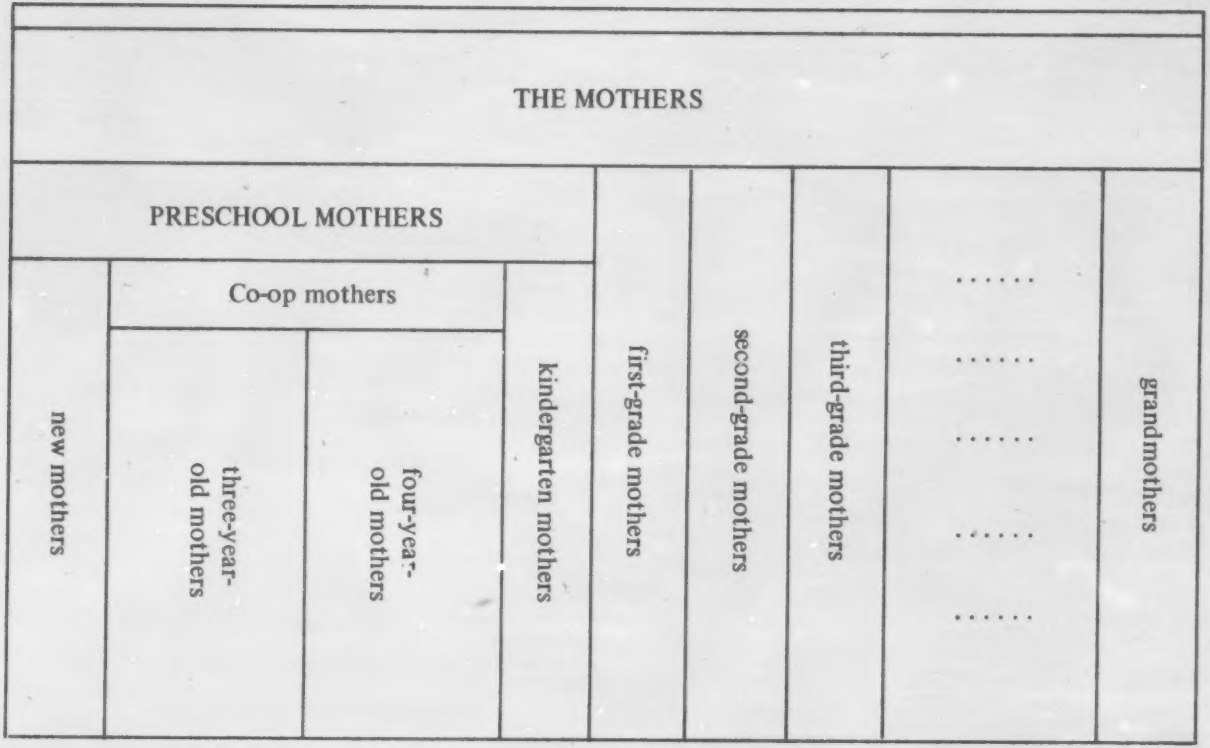

FIGURE 1. The Taxonomy of the Domain of "The Mothers"

sympathy, and occasional relief from childcare. Women with children of unlike age hesitate to trade childcare because of perceived unfairness to the mother of the older child, and because children of unlike ages (and sexes) are not expected to play well together. The differentiation between a "three-year-old mother" and "four-year-old mother" is only significant with regard to the actual conduct of classes. Fund-raising projects are equally the responsibility of both groups of mothers, but the activities of each class differ somewhat and indirectly affect the activities of the mothers (in terms of volunteer labor, donations of supplies, provision of snacks). Communication is only slightly more common within these groups than between them.

Kindergarten mothers have access to each other through the Preschool PTA and through their children's participation in the public school kindergarten. Kindergarten lasts half a day, and kindergartners are still sufficiently unmanageable to represent quite an expenditure of maternal energy on a daily basis. So childcare exchange among mothers remains very significant. The reliance of all preschool mothers on each other for companionship, help, and support is outstanding, and it is related to the female expectations that children of like age play well together and misbehave in similar fashions and that mothers of children of like age are familiar with and understanding of the behavior of children of that age. The expectation that people who are not around small children most of the time will be impatient and intolerant of their actions is a common one and serves to encourage communication among mothers of age-mates.

Although no formal PTA or other organization of mothers of school-age children exists, there is a general recognition that mothers of children in a given grade belong together. They call themselves "first-grade mothers" and are referred to as such by school personnel and other community members. Mothers of children in a specific class are thrown together as chaperones on field trips, as "room mothers," as volunteers, and as audiences for class programs. The mothers perceive a commonality of interest and experience as they and their children deal with the same teacher, the same students, and the same learning environment.

Figure 1 is a rather static looking diagram. But the reality is progressional. Each mother is eligible for each group, as her child moves through the grades. Normally, then there is considerable continuity of group membership, since each year the same group of mothers changes to the next age-grade, switching teacher and learning environment, but maintaining the same group of students and mothers.

It is clear that any one mother can view herself as a member of as many categories as she has children (excepting the case of multiple births, of course). In practice, women tend to emphasize their membership in whichever category seems most relevant at any given time. For instance, at a Preschool PTA meeting, a woman emphasizes and thinks of herself in terms of her status as the mother of a preschooler, or in local jargon, "a preschool mother." Acting as a chaperone for her second grader's science field trip, her identity as preschool mother fades and her identity as a "second-grade mother" emerges. A woman who has a three-year-old and a five-year-old will sometimes castigate the Preschool PTA when she is at a Preschool Co-op meeting despite the fact that she is a member of both organizations. In one situation, her other category membership fades into irrelevance.

"We Were in the Same Class"

All mothers have access to ties to other women through their children's age-grade. Most friendships and communication between Public Employees and Locals initially are derived from commonalities in children's age-grade.* Mothers thrown together as chaperones or room mothers meet, discover common interests, and become friends. Their friendships in turn influence the bonds among their children.

Such friendships, however, are significantly more likely when the mothers are also close in age. Women often remark that they enjoy or do not enjoy a given event because the other women are either of a similar or divergent age, respectively. It is expected that women will generally prefer the company of other women their own age. A new arrival in town is urged to join Bushler Bay Homemakers by an age-mate: "You'll like it. All the women are about our age." Or her attendance at United Presbyterian Women is questioned: "Why do you go? Isn't it just a bunch of old ladies?" A thirty-one-year-old worries about her friendship with a woman not quite thirty, because she is "over the hill" and her friend is not. A twenty-one-year-old comments disapprovingly about her friend of thirty-four: "She must be awfully immature. She always picks much younger friends."

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*Friendships between loggers' wives and Forest Service wives, for instance, are usually rather private affairs. The public behavior of either is likely to offend the other (or her friends).

Even the formal clubs, members of which ostensibly group for other reasons, are remarkably homogeneous in age. Preschool Co-op and Preschool PTA are dominated by women in their early twenties. Most Bushler Bay Homemakers cluster around thirty.* The United Presbyterian Women are in their forties, by and large, and older women predominate in the other clubs.

There are patterned similarities in the life cycles of women that affect their communication behavior at different ages. Young women with preschool children make extensive use of their bonds with other women. Some join the formal organizations available, but almost all trade childcare extensively with close friends. The presence of small children (culturally) precludes full-time work for the mother, thus giving her the opportunity to engage in informal communication with other women on a day-to-day basis.

As the children grow older and require less care at home, women become freer to engage in other activities. Their children are in school much of the time. Public Employee women participate more fully in the formal organizations; Local women renew friendships by drinking coffee together at the cafe or working together on some project. As children approach high school, women tend to seek part-time or full-time employment. Though there are few jobs available to women in the village, the majority of the women with children in high school work at least part of the time. This is possible because of increased freedom from childcare responsibilities for the woman and necessary because of increased expenses with older children. As the children become adults and leave home (usually at about age eighteen), women either continue working, join the many clubs available to older women, or become active in church work, depending on financial necessity and personal preference.

Family planning communication is most common among age-mates, as is any intimate topic. When Public Employee women discuss the subject, they do so in dyads (or triads) of like age in the privacy of their homes. But Local women gather frequently in groups of age-mates and discuss various topics related to sexuality, including the use of birth control. All Bushler Bay women are influenced by the cultural prescription that intimate communication is most appropriate between people

*The Bay Homemakers is the most heterogeneous club in town, in terms of age, ranging from early twenties through seventies.

of like age, but the potency of the prescription is most evident among Locals. Local women grew up with their age-mates, they frequently had children with their age-mates, and their children's like ages encourage further interaction among themselves. Although Public Employee women typically only discuss family planning with their age-mates, they have fewer bonds with other village women of like age. They typically did not go to school in Bushler Bay, and most began their reproductive career in their mid-twenties rather than their late teens, so their children are much younger than those of their Local age-mates.

The result of this discrepancy is that Public Employee women share family planning information with a small number of women whom they usually have not known for long.* They are reticent to bring up a topic that may be offensive to others, despite their own interest in the subject. However, the interest of many Public Employee women in family planning communication is evident in their willingness to discuss it in the context of a group of Local women who are discussing it (for instance, at a PPTA function). Local women, used to long intimacy with one another, consistently meet for feasting, drinking, and exchange of intimate information. Such festive occasions frequently coincide with a child's birthday party, and are marked by much merrymaking among the women. Local women meet for informal luncheons, they gather to perform a community service, or simply agree to converge on the beach.

Women in both groups invite their age-mates (and others sometimes) to Tupperware parties, Jafra parties, or Stanhome parties. These "parties" are solicited by a saleswoman who persuades a community woman to "give a party" to introduce her product to those who attend. Since the hostess receives a gift the value of which is determined by how much the guests buy, guests feel somewhat pressured to buy something for the sake of their friend. If guests agree to give parties as well, the hostess receives further gifts from the saleswoman, thus perpetuating the cycle of party-giving.

Tupperware parties, the most common, reflect the same sorts of communication styles that were evident in the BBH and the PPTA meetings.

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*This study deals with localized interaction. But Public Employees, like the Japanese women Salamon (1975) described, maintain friendships from afar, by letter and telephone. Public Employee women may well discuss their most intimate thoughts with these friends.

Local Tupperware parties often include alcoholic beverages, and a spirit of camaraderie and good fun. The saleswoman has difficulty keeping the guests' attention on her sales pitch, and informal visiting is the principal activity. Public Employee Tupperware parties often include more formality, with elegantly arranged sweets and coffee, careful attention to the sales presentation, and more decorous behavior on the part of the guests. Products sell well in both groups, but family planning communication is unlikely at a Public Employee party.

It is significant that even among age-mates the consumption of alcohol lessens inhibitions about discussing topics related to sexuality. Public Employees commonly drink alcohol in small intimate groups (another couple comes for dinner, two women share confidences while their children nap), while Locals drink more publicly and in larger groups, for instance at the tavern, or a keg party on the lawn. (A keg of beer is bought and friends and passersby come and drink).

The Generations and Family Planning

There is another side of the age-grading coin. Communication on all topics is great among age-mates, but the same social structural fact accounts for the "generation gap." Matters pertaining to sexuality are not discussed much between people of very different ages. Some married women discuss birth control with their mothers and other female relatives. But many do not. Adolescent girls who are sexually active make every effort to hide that fact from most adults, and particularly from their parents. The result is that while the frequency of unplanned premarital pregnancy clearly documents the prevalence of sexual activity among that age group, adolescent girls in Bushler Bay have the least access to information and supplies for birth control.

Adolescent girls who do choose to use contraceptives risk exposure at every stage. They must go to Customs Harbour by private car, where they can pay a great deal for the services of a private physician, or they can go to the Planned Parenthood clinic which has been held twice a month in Customs Harbour since 1975. But secrets are hard to keep in a small village. One's automobile can be recognized, or one can run into one's mother's best friend. Of the three teenagers to respond to my small survey, two had married because of pregnancy and the third was sexually active but not using contraceptives because "my mom or dad might find out." Only two respondents listed their children among

the "people you talk to most about birth control." The discomfort expressed by various women about discussing sexual matters with children and the plethora of books on "how to tell your children about sex" are further indication that the channels of communication between parents and children on the subject of sex are blocked by multitudinous barriers.

In the last few years small amounts of "sex education" have been doled out in home economics and health classes. In 1972, the school board agreed that sex education was important, but did nothing about it. In 1973-74, some complaints were heard from parents about the sexual and anatomical explicitness of instruction in a health class. The following year, when the new home economics teacher began including family planning in her courses, she required that each student bring a permission slip from her home. These home economics classes are electives and reach few students directly, but the network of communication among age-mates surely diffuses the information far more widely. Information without supplies, however, is insufficient.

The availability of contraceptives would not prevent all premarital pregnancy. Some adolescents marry to escape unpleasant relations at home. Some women become pregnant to justify a marriage that is opposed at home. But more premarital pregnancies are genuinely unplanned and unwanted, and these could be stopped.

Women in their twenties know about and use birth control unless they are or want to be pregnant. They tend to consider two children ideal, and use birth control pills or IUDs predominantly until they decide they want no more children, at which point the woman or her husband is sterilized. The data in Table 3 come from the respondents to my survey who were between 20 and 29 (n=11).

TABLE 3. FAMILY PLANNING BY WOMEN IN THEIR TWENTIES

State of Being	*No.*	*Method*	*No.*
Pregnant	1	IUD	3
Desires pregnancy	1	Pills*	1
Sterilized (female)	2	Condoms/foam	1
Sterilized (male)	2		

*Most women in this age range have used pills at one time or another.

An interesting aspect of communication about family planning is the willingness of women to discuss female techniques like the IUD, the pill, or tubal ligation, and their unwillingness to discuss vasectomy or condom use. In three years of participant observation (a technique that relies heavily on interpersonal communication for data-gathering), only one Bushler Bay woman told me of her husband's vasectomy, and no women mentioned the use of condoms. However, use of the pill and the IUD, and to a lesser degree the question of female sterilization, were discussed at great length by many women. The data from the survey, however, indicate a high incidence of "male methods" in the village (23 percent of the respondents were married to men with vasectomies and nearly 8 percent used condoms). Since buying condoms from a drug store is something of a teenage male rite of passage in American culture, it is probable that most teenagers who use any birth control use condoms.

Local women in their twenties are sometimes sources of family planning information for older, unmarried teenage girls. Some young women discuss birth control with their babysitters. Occasionally, when unmarried girls are present at Local women's get-togethers, talk of sex, birth control, childbirth, and the like is not censored. Indeed, often women assume that their younger, sexually active friends use some method of birth control.

Bushler Bay women in their thirties are the product of a generation that is less at ease with sexuality. The twenty-five-year-old who was pregnant when she got married readily tells a new acquaintance; the thirty-five-year-old is unlikely to broach the subject. Local women in their thirties often have teenage children whose sexuality they already worry about. Women who married because of pregnancy often try to hide it from their children by manufacturing inaccurate wedding dates or by refusing to give their correct ages. Public Employee women in their thirties have children in grade school and even younger. A few still await a second child.

The families of women in their thirties are larger than the families of women in their twenties. During their prime reproductive period, birth control methods were neither as widely accepted (indeed, encouraged), as available, nor as reliable. One mother of three in her mid-thirties says, "To me it is a marvelous thing to be able to plan your family. None of my children were planned."

The overall social climate was not as conducive to family planning in the late fifties as it is now. Awareness of the population problem is a

development of the seventies: Into the early sixties, Americans idealized large families. It does not seem probable that the women in their twenties will produce as many children as the women in their thirties have. Table 4 presents the survey results for women in their thirties.

TABLE 4. FAMILY PLANNING BY WOMEN IN THEIR THIRTIES

State of Being	*No.*	*Method*	*No.*
Desires pregnancy	1	Condoms	1
Sterilized (female)	2		
Sterilized (male)	4		

It is perhaps axiomatic that women who are still open to having more children are the ones who discuss family planning. The facts that most women in their thirties have completed their families, and that vasectomy is a common means of birth control account for a gradual lessening of communication on the subject.

Although communication about family planning and sexuality is probably more common among women above forty than my data indicate (because of the barrier to communication based on age difference between myself and the potential respondents), several facts support the notion that family planning communication steadily decreases with age. First, the openness with which Americans now discuss family planning and sexuality is fairly new. The older a woman is, the more likely is she to have been exposed to considerable puritanical social influences. Sexuality used to be far more taboo than it is now.

The fact that women in their forties very rarely produce children in Bushler Bay indicates that some sort of solution to the problem of family planning has already been found. Although the data in Table 5 do not represent all the births in Bushler Bay since many people give birth in other towns, they do give a general indication of the range of maternal age for children born in 1970 and 1975.

Most women in their forties are no longer seeking information on how to control reproduction, or trying to make decisions about methods or number of children to produce. The apparently high incidence of hysterectomies (ostensibly for medical reasons) among women in that age range—as reported by their daughters—suggests that female

TABLE 5. NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN BY MATERNAL AGE, 1970 AND 1975

Maternal Age	*No. Born in 1970*	*No. Born in 1975*
15-19	1	2
20-24	4	3
25-29	2	2
30-34	0	4
35-39	0	1
40+	0	0

Source: Data collected from Customs Harbour birth records by A.M. Colfer, 7/76.

sterilization has long been a solution to excessive fertility. One woman jokingly reported having her "baby carriage converted to a play pen," when she got a hysterectomy. Male sterilization is not unheard of in that age range either. The onset of menopause in the mid-forties renders family planning rather obsolete.

Summary

The important role of the school as a foundation for and continuing social force encouraging age-grading among women suggests some important social structural ramifications of "education" that have not been properly attended to. The school serves to free women from constant childcare after their children reach age six, fosters bonds among women who attended school together and whose children attend school together, and seems to encourage the discontinuity between generations that is often noted in Western cultures. Such functions are completely outside the realm usually attributed to "education" when education is correlated with use of birth control methods, and yet such factors influence the decisions of Bushler Bay women with regard to family planning. The fact that children will go to school at age six encourages women to have their two children close together (to "get it over with") so that they can pursue educational or employment interests when the children are in school.

The shared experiences of age-mates provide a relatively easy

channel for family planning communication. The presence of age-mates all over the nation who attended school during the same years, had similar experiences, and participated in the same "fads" provides an endless supply of potential age-mates/intimates.*

The unavailability of older generations for advice and open communication will be explored in greater depth in Chapter 4, but the fact that grandparents and other older relatives are no longer available to share in the care of children has profound effects on the experience of being a mother, effects which discourage reproduction.

*The shared experiences—listening to the Beatles in the 1960s, Elvis Presley in the 1950s, or radio programs in the 1940s—serve to bind age-mates together wherever they go.

4

KINSHIP

All peoples are related to others, and communicate with others, on the basis of kinship, but kinship systems differ markedly and affect the adoption of family planning in a variety of ways. This chapter begins with a general discussion of the primary focus of American kinship—the marital relationship—and explores the Bushler Bay manifestation of that focus. Women's perceptions of the relationships among marriage, sexuality, and romantic love have important ramifications with regard to timing the onset of reproduction, and the cultural definition of kinship as the domain of women legitimizes women's rights to decision making in reproductive matters. Lastly, a woman's relationships with her female relatives and her own children are discussed, as such relationships have important effects on family planning communication and adoption.

The Kinship System

> Love and Marriage, Love and Marriage
> Go together like a horse and carriage.*
>
> First comes love,
> Then comes marriage,
> Then comes Susie
> With a baby carriage.
> (a child's verse)

To understand the role of kinship in family planning communication in Bushler Bay, some understanding of the nature of kinship in

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*"Love and Marriage," words and music by Sammy Cahn and Jimmy Van Heusen. Copyright © Barton Music Corp., 1955.

the village is necessary. In contrast to the situation in most cultures, the American kinship system revolves around the *marital* link. The relationship between a husband and wife ideally has priority over all other adult relationships.

Hsu, writing about the American system in general, says:

> The structural relationship most elevated in the American family is that between the husband and wife. All other relationships are either subordinated to this central one or are patterned after and modified by it. Unlike those of the father-son relationship [as Hsu maintains is predominant in China], the attributes of the husband-wife relationship are exclusiveness and discontinuity. It is discontinuous over the generations because each husband-wife relationship has no necessary link with other such relationships. Children become independent when they marry or reach majority. It is exclusive of other individuals because each husband-wife relationship is not only complete in itself but is intolerant of intrusion by any third party. It is, therefore, necessary to have monogamy as an absolute ideal. The three most important elements of this kinship content are Romantic Love, worship of the young, and self-reliance (1963, p. 194).

The marriage ceremony includes vows by both partners to "forsake all others," and those words are interpreted to include parents and other relatives as well as lovers and friends. Fathers traditionally "give away" the bride, in formal recognition of this break. In disagreements between in-laws, spouses are expected (and urged) to side with each other against members of their natal family. Virtually all Bushler Bay couples live neolocally from the beginning of their marriage, though it is not uncommon for Local couples to reside next door to the parents of one member or the other. Most Public Employee couples live far from their natal families.

Many writers have maintained that kinship is of slight importance in America. But the data from Bushler Bay do not support this contention. Women nearly universally maintain ties with a wide assortment of relatives. One factor that leads analysts to give scant attention to American kinship is the element of choice involved in the system. People *choose* their marriage partners, and they *choose* the relatives with whom they maintain close ties. But the fact remains that kin ties are exceedingly important to individuals.

Anthropologists have consistently found bilateral kinship systems (such as the American system) more difficult to deal with than the

more easily bounded unilineal descent systems.* A.M. Colfer points out a very cogent reason for this. Anthropologists have typically begun with a set of siblings as the core of any kin group or category, but in a bilateral society, a married couple constitutes the core of the kindred. Colfer, discussing the bilateral kinship system of a Russian Old Believer community in Oregon, says,

> . . . it [the marriage] creates a new category which overlaps sections or parts of the former two categories. The new category created is the new kindred of which the married couple is the core. It is the married couple who will share kinsmen from marriage to death, not a set of siblings. It is the married couple who create the new category (kindred) by their act, not a set of siblings. It is the married couple through whom economic exchange between the former kindreds is funneled, not a set of siblings . . . one's kindred doubles at marriage. In fact, it might be more meaningful to say that one's kindred is completed at marriage, and that a child, or unmarried person, is one who is not yet mature in the sociological sense due to its incomplete kinship set. The kindred of an unmarried child is, in fact, the kindred of its parents. It is not a birth which creates a kindred, but a marriage (1975, pp. 120-21).

His analysis suggests that the "minimal kinship system" discovered by Codere, on the basis of her interviews with 200 elite American women at Vassar College (1963, p. 79) may well derive from the unmarried status of these women as much as anything else.

Schneider's data support the notion that marriage doubles an individual's kindred, while emphasizing another aspect of American kinship.

> . . . there is now reason to suspect that of the two theoretically possible ways of increasing the number of kinsmen actively engaged in a particular network, it is those who are related through marriage who constitute the major source of additional numbers, rather than the wider spread which would be obtained by tracing back farther and then out to more widely placed collateral lines. That is, the consanguineals of spouses are drawn into a network more often than distant collateral lines of consanguineal kinsmen (1965, p. 29[illegible]).

In other words, at marriage a woman completes her kindred by sort of adopting the family of her husband, and vice versa. The fuzziness of

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*Hsu deals with this difficulty by maintaining that "The Americans have practically no kinship organization beyond the individual family" (1963, p. 204).

boundaries where kin become non-kin, and the factor of choice in American kinship create a situation in which each marital pair forms a nucleus of kin, a sort of human cauldron of potential relationships, within which particular relationships can be nurtured or ignored at will.

Marriages are believed to be contracted by potential spouses on the basis of romantic love, in Bushler Bay. The trinity of love, marriage, and sexuality are, ideally, inseparable for Bushler Bay women in general. Women say they engaged in premarital sexual relations because they loved their partner and conversely recall having defined a relationship as one of romantic love because they had had sexual relations with the man. Having sexual intercourse is usually called "making love." One young divorcee says,

> John and I made love when I was sixteen. I knew then, that very night, that I was going to marry him. There was no question about it. I knew I would only go to bed with the guy I was going to marry. So I had to marry him, and I did.

Schneider's "cultural account" (1968) of American kinship focuses on sexual intercourse, or conjugal solidarity, as the primary metaphor of American kinship. The extreme disjuncture between the ideals—that one will only love and desire the man one marries and that such a triad will maintain its strength throughout life—and reality surely contributes to the brittleness of marriage in the village, and the common disillusion of married women with the institution. Divorce is extremely common, as illustrated by the relative number of marriages as compared to divorces in Bushler Bay: In 1974, there were eighteen marriages and seven divorces; in 1975, there were only sixteen marriages and seventeen divorces (Jefferson County records).

Rather than elaborate on the kinship system in general, it seems more germaine at this point to focus on the relationships between husband and wife to illuminate the kinds of communication that are possible and probable between the two.

The Marital Link

The primacy of the marriage bond over all other adult relationships is universally agreed upon by Bushler Bay residents. A strict division of labor between the sexes is also rather generally practiced and idealized. Ideally, men are the breadwinners and women are the

homemakers. In practice, though the vast majority of men are the primary breadwinners, many women engage in a variety of part-time and seasonal wage labor, as well as a variety of informal economic endeavors like gardening, canning, collecting wild edibles. Although women encroach on men's domain somewhat in practice, it is far rarer for men to make any significant contribution in the women's domain. A woman who works continues her household and childcare duties with little or no help from her husband.

Peer reaction to encroachment on the inappropriate domain is rather different for men and women. Women are encouraged by other women to engage in part-time wage labor if it is available and envy the women who are able to find a job. Men who help with childcare and household duties are mocked mercilessly with direct and scathing attacks on their manhood.

There is an ambivalence in the marital relationship regarding the proper relations between men and women. On the one hand, a case can be made for equality between marriage partners. Bushler Bay residents see men and women as having distinct, but somewhat equivalent spheres of operation. A woman's greater knowledge about household maintenance, childcare, cooking, and other domains deemed female is accepted with ease by men, and women recognize the superior grasp men in the village tend to have over logging, working with heavy equipment, or working in a bureaucracy. Men and women speak of a complementarity of roles in the marital relationship.

On the other hand, the wider society outside the home values the activities of men more than the activities of women. Where a man can support himself alone quite easily, a woman (particularly one with young children) usually cannot. Where technology is more primitive, the traditional work of women is often vitally needed, and a man may be as helpless without a woman as a woman is without a man. But in Bushler Bay in the mid-1970s, a man without a woman does just fine. A woman without a man is often in dire straits. Such asymmetrical dependence alters the potential for equality inherent in the ideal picture of the marital relationship.

Although both Public Employee and Local marriages display a commitment to the primacy of the husband in most decision making, there are significant differences in the ways such decision making is accomplished. As noted earlier, Public Employees spend more time with their spouses than do Locals, and are influenced by what Bernard has

called the "companionate" view of marriage (1972, p. 191). Although both parties to the marriage agree that the husband should be dominant, the wife is accorded some decision making functions so long as she does not encroach on the husband's prerogatives. These couples are likely to "talk a good egalitarian game" (ibid., p. 142), but important decision making still remains in the hands of the husband (for example, applying for a transfer, moving, where to go on vacations). Direct use of power by the husband or covert use of power by the wife is less likely than among Locals, but Public Employee wives appear to acquiesce to their husbands' wishes as often as Local wives. Divorce is rarer among Public Employees,* and extramarital affairs are conducted with greater secrecy.

In Local marriages the legitimacy of the husband's authority is less ambiguous. Husbands readily order their wives around, sending them for a pack of cigarettes, ordering them to make a pot of coffee, insisting they keep the children quiet, and so on. But Local men and women are not together a great deal. The separation of the sexes in everyday life is a striking feature of Local marriages. Although the ideals associated with middle eastern marriages and American marriages are hardly congruent, the behavior of men and women in relation to one another is not so far removed. Rosaldo notes that

> To the extent that men live apart from women, they of course cannot control them and women may be able to form informal groups of their own.

She goes on to note an ethnographic example that likewise conforms to many Bushler Bay marriages:

> In parts of the Arab world (Fernea, 1965) women interact mostly with women, and men with men; wives meet their husbands briefly when serving dinner and occasionally for a few hours in bed. Interaction is highly structured and limited, subject to the mood of the man (1974, p. 27).

Salamon notes a similar situation in Japan: "Men are for the most part absent from the daily world of married middle class women in Japan" (1975, p. 165).

When one compares the marital link with the variety of bonds between women, one sees that Local women receive much more of their

*In the small survey, 54 percent of the Locals had been divorced at least once (15 percent had been divorced twice), but no Public Employee had been divorced.

emotional support, closeness, and confidence from other women than from their husbands. Women work together, trade or give foodstuffs, take care of one another's children, and generally provide each other with daily companionship. This is in direct opposition to the urban American pattern in which women are far more isolated from one another than are men (see Murphy and Murphy, 1974 for a discussion of the urban pattern).

Men and women, as husbands and wives, frequently have only the sexual tie beyond their economic obligations to one another. Marriage has been characterized in most societies as a contract dealing with economic and reproductive matters. In Bushler Bay, overlaying the ideal of romantic love that provides the basic ingredients or excuse for a marriage, that same contract is clearly visible with the men in charge of the economic and women in charge of the reproductive aspects of life.

But to return to the segregation of the sexes, when men are not around, women can do as they please. Women who are most interested in controlling their own behavior (and others' as well) maximize their day-to-day separation from their husbands. For instance, women's organized activities coincide with the school year. No meetings are held during vacations or on days when school is not in session. Organized activities require that a woman be out of the house, out in the community. It is during the school year that a Local man is most likely to be at home, interfering with the autonomy of his wife. The woods are inaccessible in the winter. With the end of school and the advent of summer, all organized female activity comes to an abrupt halt, and most men work from dawn till dusk from late spring to early fall. Women whose husbands face imminent retirement consistently express distress and apprehension about the new lifestyle. They state matter-of-factly that their husband's presence will severely limit their own freedom and autonomy.

Paradoxically Public Employee women, with the egalitarian overlay to their marriage, probably have *less* freedom than do Local women whose husbands are blatantly dictatorial. Where Public Employee couples strive for companionship and veil the power and authority of the husband, Local couples make clear use of male power and authority, but accommodate to it by limiting interaction. The Murphys (1974) document a rather similar situation among the Mundurucu of Brazil. In the traditional setting, where male dominance was overt and clearcut, women had access to close ties with and important support from other

women, but in the transitional setting, where the marital link took on new significance, women were without the traditional support from other women and suffered for it. Salamon (1975) compares Japanese and German women in groups and finds that where Japanese women maintain close, intimate ties with their age-mates and minimize interaction with their husbands, German women follow a pattern that more closely resembles the Public Employee lifeway and suffer from severe feelings of isolation.

The dominance of men in marital relationships, however, has little impact in the general sphere of kinship. Kinship is part of women's domain in Bushler Bay. Women take the time to nurture relationships, to keep track of birthdays and anniversaries, to exchange gifts, to arrange weddings, baby showers, and funerals. Although men make use of the ties established between their nuclear family and other relatives for economic cooperation, women maintain the relationships on a day-to-day basis. Women, not men, concern themselves with marriage, fidelity, childbirth, and death.

And women have nearly sole responsibility for the care and behavior of their own children. Husbands are at work all day, in most cases, far from home. Childcare is not an activity that men customarily engage in, even if they are out of work and the wife is supporting the family temporarily. Children are the responsibility of their mother. Friends, parents, and other relatives are not supposed to interfere or offer advice to a woman on how to raise her children, and friends sympathize with a young woman whose mother or in-laws are free with suggestions.

In addition to the simple expectation that a woman is responsible for her children is the set of cultural beliefs that women are "naturally" suited to care for children. Belief in the maternal instinct is alive and well in Bushler Bay. Women are believed to possess certain characteristics–tenderness, gentleness, patience, and a natural love for children–that render them particularly suitable for and knowledgeable about the care of children.* Within this context, it is not unreasonable that the decision to have a child rests principally with women. The fact that

*Pierce (1971) has an entertaining, but convincing philosophical rebuttal to this series of cultural beliefs.

women are more knowledgeable about modern methods of birth control than are men is also a factor in their ability to maintain their decision-making role. Women learn about methods from their friends, their relatives, their doctors, and from magazines and books. The open communication among female age-mates provides women with plenty of examples of other women who use birth control. Men learn about methods and their use largely from their wives.*

The willingness of women to discuss family planning with their husbands and lovers is a rather outstanding difference from the situation in most countries. Various knowledge, attitude, and practice (KAP) surveys have documented the typical lack of communication on the subject between sex partners. In Bushler Bay most women at least occasionally discuss family planning with their husbands, despite the fact that many women consider the final decision to reproduce or not to entirely their own (survey results: "Who [human] has the final say in the decision to have a child? woman: 50 percent, couple: 42 percent, man: 4 percent). Indeed, there is some resentment that men do not take a greater interest in and responsibility for birth control.

In most cases (vasectomy is the exception), the decision to practice birth control or the choice of a method of birth control is ultimately the woman's in much the same way that the decision to change jobs or buy a house is ultimately the man's. Women in Bushler Bay are bombarded by reading material, soap operas, and advice on the desirability of open communication in a marriage on all topics except possibly adultery. Honesty is the ideal between spouses. The ideal of free and open communication between lovers (spouses); the perceived relationship among romantic love, sex, and marriage; and the cultural definition of kinship and reproduction as the woman's domain provide a relatively fertile ground for family planning communication between husband and wife.

Other Relatives and Family Planning

Communication between a woman and the male relatives of her own generation and the ascending generations is virtually never related

*A.M. Colfer reported that during three years' research in the same village he was not exposed to men discussing family planning except (rarely) between two couples. In the latter case, the women initiated the discussion.

to family planning. Though a couple's male relatives might exert some pro-natalist pressures on the woman, she is unlikely to discuss methods of birth control or the desirability thereof with them.* Though married women in Bushler Bay commonly seek advice from their mothers on a variety of topics, relatively few women seek advice on family planning from their mothers (19 percent of the survey respondents). Traditionally, American mothers have been a dominant pro-natalist force, aggressively requesting their children to provide them with grandchildren. The grandchildren were desired " to carry on the family name," and also simply as sources of enjoyment for grandparents. The grandparental role in Bushler Bay includes "spoiling" the children, buying them forbidden candy, taking them places they seldom get to go, succumbing to their various whims. Where mothers are expected to train their children, and are held responsible for their children's behavior, grandparents are free of such responsibility. Grandmothers who are housewives frequently babysit their grandchildren to relieve the parents from time to time.

However, now more mothers and grandmothers work. The care of children is increasingly difficult when more and more adults are gainfully employed. Grandmothers are beginning to cease their pro-natalist propaganda, as they realize the alternatives to constant motherhood available to their daughters (and even themselves).

But the expectation of pro-natalist opinions is sufficient to deter many women who want to limit their families from broaching the subject with their mothers. The various barriers to communication about sex across generations likewise inhibit information flow between mother and daughter. And, perhaps most important, the newness of adequate family planning techniques combined with the fact that the mothers of women in the reproductive ages have usually solved the problem of

*My own grandfather urges me to produce a second child (at least) because of my "good blood." He urged my mother to produce more children so that he could have a grand*son*. He is not atypical in such desires.

family planning suggest that daughters know more about modern birth control than their mothers.*

Far more common than communication between mother and daughter is communication between sisters or sisters-in-law. The same openness of communication exists between many sisters and sisters-in-law as exists among age-mates with the added factor that such relatives feel freer to request and give advice to one another. Kinship provides an excuse for influencing decisions of others. Where an age-mate might hesitate to offer advice on the grounds that "it's none of my business," a relative would consider it at least closely related to "her business." Close interaction between sisters is marked by the very open and egalitarian communication patterns characteristic of age-mates and by the commitment to mutual problem solving characteristic of mother-daughter interaction in other spheres. In relationships where communication is least successful, the tendency to offer unwanted advice or an unwillingness to accept any advice render communication unsatisfactory.

It seems worthwhile at this point to elaborate a bit on the relations between a mother and her children, since the cultural expectations that accompany motherhood play a significant role in the decisions of Bushler Bay women to limit their family size. Motherhood is billed, during the female enculturation process, as the fulfillment of a woman's life. The joys and rewards that allegedly accrue to a woman as she raises her children are extolled at length. But the excellent reputation that motherhood as an institution has achieved grew up under different circumstances: America had frontier to be tamed, and there was no problem of overpopulation. Resources seemed inexhaustible until very, very recently. From society's perspective, more children were welcome. And from a mother's perspective, reproductive control was chancy at best, and the advantages of having children were more clearcut then than they are today.

Today children contribute nothing economically to a family. They are required by law to attend school from ages six to sixteen, and

*It is generally considered undesirable for a mother and daughter to bear children of like age, because of the conflict between the parental role and the grandparental role on the one hand, combined with the cultural expectation that children of like age receive like treatment, on the other. People predict jealousy and dissension between mother and daughter and between their offspring.

considerable formal pressure is exerted to keep them in school until eighteen (or graduation from high school). Children are simply not available for much economic productivity. Indeed, Anderson, Lipton, and Morros (1975) have made a somewhat compelling case for the argument that historically a major function of schooling has been to keep people off the labor market.* And since they are in school, they are not even available for labor around the home. Furthermore, adolescents who can find part-time jobs keep the money they earn. In old age, social security and retirement plans, rather than offspring, support most people.

The ideal and reality of the nuclear family as a unit of residence also has ramifications for motherhood. Seldom do families with young children include older relatives. The lack of availability of older school age siblings, the breadwinner, or any older resident relatives to help with the responsibilities of childcare puts a very great burden on women with preschool children. Although some husbands help with children when they get home from work, many do not. Any childcare performed by the husband is perceived by both husband and wife as a clear case of *help to the wife* rather than the performance of mutual responsibilities. Children are the mother's responsibility twenty-four hours a day. (There is a proverb, "man must work from dawn til dusk, but woman's work is never done.") If she cannot care for her children, she must acquire money to pay a babysitter or exchange childcare with another mother. Such full-time responsibility is tiring, but another dimension of American motherhood adds to the difficulty.

In a traditional or peasant village women learn the skills of motherhood from their own mothers or from other older women of the village. The degree of homophily common in traditional villages limits the diversity of advice, and women can raise their children with considerable confidence that if they follow the advice they are given, their children will grow to adulthood in a satisfactory manner.

Women in Bushler Bay do not have ready access to the advice of their elders in the same manner. Age-grading contributes to heterophily between mother and daughter. The American emphasis on progress and

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*If this is so, this strategy has backfired, since the educational commitments of children-free women for greater participation in the labor market. In 1970, 42.6 percent of the female population of the United States was working (Hecht et al., 1973, p. 13).

change renders the advice of older generations suspect anyway. Rather than being revered, the old ways are considered obsolete. But even women who respect the advice of their mothers often have limited access to it due to their own mobility away from their natal families. A young mother must manage on her own, so she turns to the media and her age-mates.

But the common denominator of these sources is their heterogeneity. Different values underlie different books. The same behavioral problem is solved by different methods. Or the same maternal behavior is said to cause different results in children. There is a wide variety of books and articles available to women on how to raise children to be healthy, happy, satisfied, intelligent, successful, normal, and so on, but to comply with the requirements of such articles and books one would have to be eternally patient, creative, alert, interested, loving, strong, and healthy, and never upset, anxious, frightened, worried, or sick.

A woman's mother and other older relatives often offer advice, her husband often requires certain practices, and she can see the child training practices of her age-mates and the mothers of her children's age-mates. But from all this assortment of conflicting suggestions, "knowledge," and practices she must choose what is appropriate with her own children. The Bushler Bay mother is both more self-conscious and less self-confident about her child-training practices than mothers in traditional settings.

The contents of advice to Bushler Bay mothers are hardly reassuring. The media and informal communications incessantly urge a woman to be aware of where her children are and what they are doing at all times. She is warned of the frequency with which children are hit by cars, drink poison cleaning fluids, eat paint with lead in it, die of overdoses of drugs, drown in creeks and streams, are kidnapped, murdered, or raped. The potential dangers to children are drummed into her head with such consistency that she cannot relax with good conscience unless her children are at home in bed (and even then there are the dangers of flammable nightgowns, crib deaths, and crime). The warnings issued about psychological damage reputedly caused by various maternal actions are often even more distressing because the warnings are both more contradictory and involve human behavior that is more difficult to avoid (such as anger or impatience).

The unacceptability of other people disciplining a woman's

children further extends the reponsibility of motherhood. When in a group of people, with her children, a mother must be constantly on guard lest her children be bothering someone. People usually do not protest when children bother them, but complain bitterly about the mother for allowing her children to behave in such a way. This unwillingness to interfere extends to the point where people will allow strange or unrelated children to engage in dangerous activities without stopping them. As Hsu (1963) points out, mothers righteously *defend* their right to chastise and protect their children, when that right is abridged. But agreement with the cultural prescription in no way lessens their perception of the weight of the responsibility they bear.

Bushler Bay mothers are overwhelmed by the supposed requirements of motherhood. They suffer from the round-the-clock responsibility for their children, and they feel guilty because they cannot live up to the prescription that "the children *always* come first." In the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, Hsu mentions "worship of the young" as one of the three most important elements in the American kinship system. The devotion and self-sacrifice expected of Bushler Bay mothers is merely another manifestation of this commonly noted American trait, but it makes women's interest in limiting their families quite understandable. It is worthwhile to add that adult women maintain their perception of their own mothers as self-sacrificing and devoted. Most women feel that they can turn to their mothers for help throughout life, and that their mothers will comply. Although mothers of adult women complain about the frequency of requests from their daughters for help, they usually do what is asked of them.

There is considerable agreement among women that the main disadvantages of having children are loss of freedom, excessive responsibility, and financial costs. They find the advantages a little more difficult to put into words, but love is prominent. Parental love is emphasized more consistently than filial love. Children are believed to enhance the love that exists between a man and woman. Watching children grow is valued, as is children's role in the development of maturity and responsibility in the parents. In contrast to most of the developing world, having children is very much a luxury in Bushler Bay, and one surrounded by ambivalence, at that.

Summary

Kinship in Bushler Bay is like kinship in much of the United States. The most significant feature is the importance attached to the marriage relationship between a man and a woman. The belief in and reliance on romantic love combined with the female perception that romantic love, sexuality, and marriage are inevitably one unit, often results in early marriage due to pregnancy and ensures a disillusionment that often leads to divorce.

Female preoccupation with kinship is dictated by the sexual division of labor, so much of women's job involves the monitoring and nurturance of human relationships. Much communication occurs inevitably in such a job. Family planning communication, in the kinship context, varies over the life histories of individuals. Though teenage girls only discuss birth control with their mothers under the most dire situations (such as an unplanned pregnancy), many married women overcome the barriers to cross-generational intimate communication with their own female relatives.

The expectations centering on the mother-child relationship, like those of the marital relationship, are such that they can never be met. The willingness of Bushler Bay women to practice birth control is perhaps analogous to the frequency of divorce as a statement that the role carved out for women is impossible to fulfill. The maintenance of intimate, smooth, trouble-free human relationships has been a chimera in all cultures, and the assigning of the responsibility for such maintenance to women (as well as their acceptance of that responsibility) makes of women scapegoats for a decidedly pan-human problem.

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CONCLUSIONS

To briefly summarize, I have dealt with three major social organizational principles in Bushler Bay life that influence family planning communication: (1) the occupational split between Public Employees and Locals, (2) the prevalence of age-grading in female grouping and friendship patterns, and (3) the role of kinship in women's lives. None of these principles by which people group and communicate (or differentiate themselves and fail to communicate) is hard and fast. There are instances of friendships between Locals and Public Employees and between unrelated women of different ages. And there are sisters who never speak to each other. But such occurrences are subject to comment from others, and must be repeatedly defended. Close relationships are usually formed, maintained, and justified on the basis of homophily that derives from one or more of these social organizational principles; and intra-village family planning communication typically occurs in the context of such close relationships.

Women in Groups

Although the maintenance of close intimate ties among women is particularly significant for family planning communication per se, the tendency for women to group spontaneously and act has important ramifications in day-to-day village life, and has considerable potential for use in various kinds of development efforts.* Whereas men are almost universally occupied during the day in full-time wage labor, women

*By "development efforts," I refer to efforts to improve the quality of life, not simply economic development. The women tend to work for "bread and roses" rather than just bread.

become comparatively free once their children are in school. Both men and women share the expectation that women will spend part of their time in a variety of activities devoted to the improvement of the community. But what exactly do the women do? What functions are served by this recurrent grouping?

The village is in many ways similar to an acephalous society in its lack of any identifiable power locus. The only clearly identifiable and probable power center is the school board, if one looks in the traditional places–among the men. But women's organizations also wield considerable influence and act as power loci. The women's organizations and age-grades represent the groups that most consistently take positions on issues, and act as a unit. In 1973, for instance, the Ladies Bible Study Class of the Community Church in a neighboring hamlet acted as a group to lobby against a proposal to allow smoking on the school grounds. The women wrote to the superintendent, stating their position, and then a large number of them attended the relevant school board meeting. The smoking issue was unusually loaded, because it came up right before a levy election that was considered essential to the continued existence of Bushler Bay's school. The women's ire was seen as a definite threat to the passage of the levy. Smoking is still not permitted on the school grounds.

Before the same levy, school board members came before the PPTA to explain the need for a levy and to ask for PPTA support. The women subsequently organized a "Mothers' March" for the levy. Pouring rains interfered with the march, so the women moved indoors and persuaded several men to speak out in favor of the levy.

After passage of the levy, the superintendent indicated his intention to combine several of the lower classes due to an anticipated shortage of students in the early grades. The mothers of children in the early grades circulated a petition against combined classes, and organized mothers to lobby at the school board meeting. The classes were not combined.

Three Catholic women sounded out other community members, and successfully established a weekly Mass to be held in the village that year. The weekly Mass is still held.

Individual PPTA members and other community women of like age-grade researched and planned a playground to be built on a county park in the village. They approached the county commissioners en

masse to request the playground, and were successful in persuading the county to build and pay for it.

There is a pattern, then, of women in groups taking a stand on an issue or deciding they want something accomplished and successfully accomplishing their goal. Another pattern is the necessity for these groups of women to approach predominantly male establishments like the school board. In 1973, there was one woman on the five-person school board. The chairman was a man. All three county commissioners were men. And the Catholic Church is certainly a male-dominated institution.

Tiger (1969), who considers such grouping behavior to be a genetically determined male trait, notes that women do not tend to have access to public forums. Bushler Bay women do avoid direct, personal access to public forums. Speeches are generally made by men, and women frequently defer to men when in mixed company. But this does not mean that women's views are not expressed. Because of the pervasive acephaly, there are few routine forums. Forums must be constructed, and women organize the creation of forums and choose the men to speak at these forums, according to their own position on whatever issue is at stake.

Women do not, of course, create all forums. The school board meets regularly, as do the county commissioners, but these bodies tend to deal with routine matters, and subscribe to belief that they were elected to their positions to respond to community wishes. Given this perspective, such regularly scheduled forums as school board meetings become forums for citizens to indicate to board members what they as citizens want rather than forums for airing the views of board members.

Rather than gaining access to a public forum (and the resultant power) by becoming an elected official, one tends to lose access to a forum. Board members feel constrained to act in the *community's* best interests. They gauge community interests by citizen participation at board meetings. And citizen participation is predominantly female, and often well organized. The holders of such formal positions recognize the power of women's groups, and heed their wishes.

The stated goals of these women's organizations do not include the acquisition and manipulation of power. The women ostensibly group for other reasons. Education and recreation are the most common "reasons" that women give for coming together in groups, but the

various services they perform in the context of their groups involve religion, administrative organization, welfare, health, communications, and a variety of spheres related to community improvement besides education and recreation (both their own and others').

The citizens of Bushler Bay fail to recognize the significance of the contributions made by women in groups. Women deny the significance of ties among women generally while agreeing that their *own* ties to other women are important personally; they denigrate their own accomplishments in conjunction with other women as inefficient or inadequate and yet fail to note the lack of such ideal accomplishments among the men's groups. It is a well-known "fact" in American culture that women cannot get along, that they do not trust one another, and cannot work well together. And yet the data from Bushler Bay show this cultural stereotype to be false. The potential contribution of women in groups is enormous.

The Importance of Occupation

Two interesting generalizations that crosscut the social organizational principles can be made. The first relates to the cultural significance of occupation in Bushler Bay. People categorize themselves and others according to occupation. The questions "What do you do?" and "What are you?" are interchangeable. The fact of *being* a logger implies a lifeway, a set of values, a method of earning a living, and a variety of other things. And a woman married to a logger shares his categorization in varying degrees. When two women meet, one of the first questions is inevitably "What does your husband do?" It is also significant that the question "What do you do?" when addressed to a woman, often elicits an embarrassed turn of the head and a self-deprecating statement: "Oh, I'm just a housewife." Public Employee women sometimes indicate their solidarity with their husbands by responding "We're with the Forest Service."

The importance of occupational affiliation diminishes among the retired. Nearly all old people are supported by retirement programs or social security, and answer the question, "What do you do?" with "I'm retired." The important point is that people categorize themselves according to how they obtain money to live. Women obtain their livelihood principally from their husbands. The somewhat greater identification of Public Employee women with the occupations of their husbands

is related to their lack of other kin support in the village, their companionate view of marriage, and their own perception of public employ as more prestigous.

The congruence of personal identity and mode of employment reflects the importance attached to production by Americans. The fact that all Bushler Bay residents make use of age-grading as a principle of informal affiliation, at all ages, is not recognized as worthy of note within the village. Age-grading and kinship are assumed. Occupational affiliation, like tribal loyalty in Iran or African age-grades, is the domain which marshals energies and inspires human dreams.

The fact that formal occupational affiliation is denied to women so long as they reproduce throughout much of their lives has considerable impact on their feelings about family planning. The desire of many to participate in the labor market and thereby gain the sense of identity and the prestige that comes from such participation discourages a prolonged procreative career.* The value on self-reliance, mentioned by Hsu, also affects women. A woman with small children is dependent on her husband to an extent that disturbs many women.† Many perceive such dependence as radically limiting their options, and want to gain the potential for independence that derives from the capacity to earn a living.

The preeminence, in the eyes of villagers, of occupational affiliation over the other social organizational features is potent testimony to the cultural meaning assigned to that domain, and reason enough for many women to limit their families in the hope of gaining direct access to it. Even women who profess a preference for domestic life commonly express fears deriving from their economic dependence on their husbands. Such fears encourage women to limit their families "just in case."

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*Women frequently express the desire to "*be* something" (referring to occupation). Such desires and expectations are reinforced in childhood and adolescence, by the recurrent question: "What are you going to be when you grow up?"

†Jessie Bernard reports a study of 600 suburban American housewives' views of their husbands: "About two-thirds viewed men as breadwinners first, as father second, and as husband third" (1972, p. 76).

"Limitlessness" and Choice

The second generalization focuses on two features that characterize all three principles of social organization: The first is a limitless aspect to the category of individuals tied to any other individual by occupational affiliation, age-grade, and kinship. And the second is the volitional aspect of interaction within any of these categories of people.

Members of any occupation represented in Bushler Bay have access to all the other members of that occupation in the village, but also to far-ranging organizations devoted to the interests and concerns of that occupation, often on a nationwide basis. Members of large bureaucracies, like the U.S. Forest Service, can be and often are transferred to other parts of the country where they can meet a whole new group of "people who work for the Forest Service" and share many experiences in common. Teachers have ties with other teachers all over the nation through their unions, through their professional journals and associations, and through friendships born in college days. Loggers belong to groups that include loggers from all over the state, or all over the region, that lobby in state legislatures, and serve the interests of loggers in a variety of ways. Such examples exist for all occupations.

The limitlessness of age-grading is rather self-explanatory. Everywhere one goes, one encounters people of one's own age, and the similarities of experience can be dredged up and compared. The fact that nearly everyone attends school for twelve years ensures some minimal commonalities and homophily.

The nature of kinship would seem to imply that it be limited, and yet American kinship is curiously endless. One can go back as many generations as one wants. Some Americans trace elaborate genealogies centuries back, to qualify for membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution or to posthumously baptize ancestors as Mormons. In 1973, one long-time resident of Bushler Bay commented that a recent marriage had linked two previously unrelated sets of related people, making the whole community (of Locals) "related."

The frequency of divorce makes neat contemporary kinship diagrams impossible; but it effectively increases the number of relatives one can have. If one's kindred doubles at marriage, then a remarriage similarly increases it (only *doubling*, of course, if one's second spouse is marrying a second time as well). Anyone has the option of maintaining the kin ties one has established during a marriage after the marriage is

terminated. And one can consider anyone a relative if some tie, either affinal, consanguineal, or adoptive can be established.

The second feature that characterizes all these principles is volition. Local men particularly maintain a strong commitment to the volitional aspects of their occupation. They believe one should quit, and they do quit, if they do not like something about their job or co-workers. Public Employee men are more likely to request a transfer, but in both settings workers value the right to decision making about their employment. All during high school, and sometimes before, students are reminded that they must choose their occupation.

People choose from among their many age-mates the ones they like best, and nurture relationships with them. Although existing friendships influence the formation of new ones by means of peer pressure, people will indignantly affirm their right to choose their own friends if pushed too hard.

Kinship choices are made in the context of an overall expectation that people will love, help, and respect relatives, but frequently distance precludes much practical manifestation of feelings of love, offers of help, or respectful behavior. As noted earlier, the primary focus of the kinship system is the marital link, where choice is considered essential, and after marriage one only interacts with other relatives to the degree that such interaction does not adversely affect the marital link. Given the general agreement about the secondary nature of one's non-marital kin relationships as compared to one's commitment to one's spouse and family of procreation, there is near complete freedom to choose those relatives with whom one wants to maintain a relationship.

The value placed on choice, self-determination, self-reliance, independence, and so on in Bushler Bay reappears in many cultural spheres. Teaching children to make choices and decisions is stressed at home and in the school. Adults express commitment to and respect for individual choice making in many, many ways. Enmeshed in this context, it is not surprising that women should believe in planning their families. Bushler Bay women can only hope to retain significant choice-making capacity about their own lives if they are free of dependent preschoolers.

Kincaid et al. say of Korean village women:

> The recurrent reason that women gave for *not* being able to participate in club projects was: *too many small children and too many responsibilities*

> *to care for at home.* In other words, once they had the opportunity to see what they were capable of doing outside the home, many of the club members and other village women began to realize that having too many children limits their freedom to engage in other activities. Family planning is now acknowledged as the best way to free themselves to participate more fully in village development projects (1975, pp. 46-47).

The women of Bushler Bay are motivated to limit their families by precisely the same kind of awareness. The facts that girls do much better scholastically in school in Bushler Bay than do boys,* that more and more jobs are requiring educational certification rather than the physical strength of men, that girls have been taught organizational skills in school and practice them throughout life, and that the media present women with alternatives to homemaking, ensure that the women of Bushler Bay are very much aware of the disadvantages of having many children. Such awareness is a critical factor in family planning adoption, and the open communication channels serve to facilitate the dissemination of such awareness among women.

*This is derived from an incompatibility between the expected behavior of "students" and the expected behavior of "young men," rather than any greater intellectual ability of Bushler Bay women.

APPENDIX: BUSHLER BAY HOMEMAKERS IN CONTEXT

Homemakers' Clubs exist all over the nation, as part of the activities of the U.S. Extension Service. Since the Extension Service has influenced programs in a wide variety of countries, it is worthwhile to present a brief overview of its history and current status. Homemakers' Clubs have provided the prototype for such development and family planning clubs as the Mothers' Clubs of Korea and the Rural Improvement Clubs of the Philippines, among many others. In the efforts of other nations to use fieldworkers in a variety of programs, the experience of the county extension agents has been useful, as well as the Extension's long-term commitment to and experience with person-to-person communication, in attempts at rural development.

This brief summary includes a description of the congressional acts that laid the groundwork for the current Service, a discussion of the growth and philosophy of extension in the State of Washington, and particularly in Jefferson County (where Bushler Bay is located). A detailed description of the Homemakers' Clubs in Bushler Bay can be found on pages 28-31.

The Genesis of Extension

Jonathan Turner, a professor at Illinois College, began expounding the virtues of "colleges for the common man" in the 1850s.* By 1853, he had persuaded the Illinois Legislature to petition the U.S. Congress to donate public lands for "industrial" universities in each state.

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*Bushler Bay's first settler came in the early 1860s, and Washington became a state in 1889. See Colfer and Colfer (1975) for a history of Bushler Bay.

The petition started discussion and controversy, but little else. The Southern states feared interference with states' rights, and the West was reluctant to part with public lands.

In 1855, Justin Morrill of Vermont was elected to Congress and he introduced his land grant college bill in 1857 without success. Later, in 1859, a more skilled politician, he was able to get it passed by Congress, but President Buchanan vetoed it. Southern disapproval is portrayed by Senator Clay of Alabama who branded the bill, ". . . One of the most monstrous, iniquitous, and dangerous measures which have [sic] ever been submitted to Congress" (Clallam County Extension Office, 1962, p. 2).

But the American Civil War made Southern disapproval irrelevant, and some minor changes secured the backing of Western states. On July 2, 1862, the Morrill Act inaugurating the American system of land grant colleges and universities was signed by President Abraham Lincoln, and within ten years all but three of the thirty-nine states had accepted the provisions of the Act.

The provisions of the Act stipulated that each state could be allocated 30,000 acres of land from the public domain, for each member of Congress from that state* (with a maximum total acreage of 11.5 million acres), and that an endowment should be provided for at least one college in each state. The endowment was to be used for instruction only. Although required to provide instruction in agriculture and mechanic arts, the primary objective of the Act was more general: "the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." Each state retained the right to set up and administer its college, to determine the scope of its subject matter, its type of instruction, its location, and its name.

As these colleges were set up and began to function, a major flaw became apparent. At that time agriculture was an art, not a science. Little was known about why one farmer was successful and another not. And yet the Morrill Act included no provision for research or experiment stations. In 1887, the federal Hatch Act was passed, establishing

*The U.S. Congress is composed of 2 houses—the Senate and the House of Representatives. While each state has two senators, the size of its delegation in the House is proportional by population, with each state having at least one representative.

research in agriculture as a major function of land grant institutions and providing federal appropriations for that purpose, as well as providing for the printing and distribution of the results of the research authorized by the Act.

Brand, Enfield, and Groening describe one of the farmers' institutes that were common in the early days of land grant colleges:

> In a lamplighted country schoolhouse set on a mid-western prairie, a gathering of farmers and their wives listened attentively, a young professor from the State agricultural college was lecturing on the newest seed grain varieties.
>
> This audience had raised money, petitioned the college, hauled wood for the potbellied stove. Now they were winding up their 3-day "farmers' institute." Most had travelled many miles each day to hear the latest scientific information from experts on farming and homemaking. The women had brought a basket dinner to add sociability to learning. Ahead was a long ride home in buckboard or sleigh, with sleepy children bundled in quilts. But these farm families were well satisfied that their "institute" was worth all the effort. . . . In 1899, 47 states held such institutes, and half a million farmers attended them. The basic extension idea had been born of need (1964, p. 67).

Washington was admitted to the Union in 1889, and the Washington State Legislature passed an Act in 1890 accepting the land grant provided by the Morrill Act. Washington Agricultural College and School of Science (now called Washington State University) was established on May 1, 1891 and the experiment station opened in 1892.

Efforts to get the results of experiments to the people of Washington included farmers' institutes, demonstration trains, occasional personal contact between farmers and station staff, and bulletins. The farmers' institutes began in 1895, and reached a peak of popularity in 1909 when eighty-nine institutes were held with a total attendance of 16,172. That same year six demonstration trains drew 28,890 spectators. In 1914, 25,300 copies of published research and information bulletins were distributed (Turner, 1961, pp. 3-4).

Turner describes a 1913 demonstration train trip he made as an assistant in the agricultural engineering car:

> . . . models of a concrete silo, a septic tank and small generator with two-horse-power gasoline engine, which lit the baggage car of the train, attracted visitors at each train stop. Demonstrations of improved dairy and beef cattle, hogs and sheep also attracted wide interest. There were exhibits and

> talks on crop production, seed improvement, insect and disease control, drainage and irrigation, and for the farm women, demonstrations in foods and clothing (1961, p. 4).

The federal Smith-Lever Act, signed on May 8, 1914, expanded the Washington State legislation that had established a Bureau of Farm Development the year before and had empowered the county commissioners in the state to appoint, and appropriate money for, local agricultural experts. The Smith-Lever Act founded the Cooperative Extension Service, laid the groundwork for the tripartite liaison between the federal government (United States Department of Agriculture), the state (land grant colleges), and the county governments, and established the primary credo of the Extension Service: "To aid in diffusing among the people . . . useful information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics and to encourage application of the same."

Chief C.B. Smith of the Federal Office of Cooperative Extension Work summarized their first ten years in 1924:

> The Smith-Lever Law is unique in legislation. It obligates cooperation between the Federal Department of Agriculture and the Land-grant colleges and permits cooperation of these two government institutions with county officials, farmers' and businessmen's organizations, local organizations created for the purpose, and individuals in carrying on such work. The result has been that farmers themselves and their wives have been made partners with their Government—National, State, and county—in organizing, developing, and carrying on extension work in their respective communities.
>
> This is the most significant and outstanding thing in the development of extension work during the past ten years, that the people concerned actually sit down in common council with the agents of government, working thus together, develop plans for promoting more effective farming in the community, better homes, and greatly enlarged and more significant home, community, and social life (quoted in Turner, p. 46).

Once these three federal laws—the Morrill Act, the Hatch Act, and the Smith-Lever Act—had been passed, the stage had been set for the nationwide existence of extension as a fact of rural life. The necessity that funds for extension services come from all three levels of government (federal, state, and county) insured that all levels of government would have input in the decision-making processes that would govern the development of the Extension Service. So from this point, it is useful to narrow the focus, to concentrate on the specific development of the Extension Service in the State of Washington.

Washington State Extension Service

The most significant change over the years, within the State of Washington, is simply growth. Table 6 shows the growth of the Service between 1917-18 and 1958.

TABLE 6. EXTENSION STAFF IN WASHINGTON, 1917-18 TO 1958

Year	*County Agents*	*Home Agents*	*State Staff*	*Total*
1917-18	17	0	13	30
1922	35	11	21	67
1929	26	6	13	45
1932	42	12	15	69
1938	66	19	20	105
1943	61	28	26	115
1948	72	35	36	143
1953	89	39	38	166
1958	106	49	44	199

Source: Turner, p. 22.

The current figures are as follows: county extension agents, agriculture, 80; county extension agents, home economics, 42; state staff, 74; total, 196 (Hall, 1976). The population growth during this period is reflected in Table 7.

TABLE 7. POPULATION GROWTH
1920, 1960, 1970

Year	*Urban*	*Rural*
1920	742,801	613,820
1960	1,943,249	909,965
1970	2,476,468	932,701

Source: U.S. Census.

In Table 6, "county agents" and "home agents" refer to those personnel who live and work in the counties and deal directly with the people (analogous to fieldworkers). They are now all called extension agents, and differentiate among themselves by adding their disciplinary affiliation after "extension" (for example, extension home economist).

Although a given county may have any number of agents, most counties have had between one and three. In the 1920s, the county agent (male) was usually assigned the title of "county director," but this system fostered the development of dictators, according to Turner, and was abandoned in favor of a team approach that has continued to this day. Between the inauguration of the team approach and 1948, a county chairman was officially in charge of all the work in the county and was assisted by an "associate agent" and an "assistant agent" (if funding permitted such positions). There was a conscious attempt to create a parallel to the traditional American family in the organization of county personnel.

> The county staff working together in this same manner emulate the farm family and better farm family living. This idea, developed in the twenties and nurtured in the forties and fifties, prepared Extension workers for greater teamwork (Turner, p. 20).

In 1948, formal status differentiation among agents was abolished, and has not been resumed.

The state staff is responsible for supervision of agents, acquisition and dissemination of specialized and more up-to-date information, and the administration of the overall extension program. Both supervision and administration have gone through the usual changes that occur in bureaucratic organizations, as they grow and diminish in size and wealth. The redefinition of Extension Services' concerns to include the urban poor has saved it from the near-obsolesence that could have resulted from the lack of growth in rural areas. The budget for Washington's Cooperative Extension Service (July 1974-June 1975) was $7,431,362.86. The federal government contributed $2,698,975.21, $2,972,735.65 came from the state, and the counties provided only $1,759,652.00 (Hall, 1976).

But the basic concerns of the Extension Service have changed little over the years. From the very beginning four major areas of concentration have been apparent: community resource development, agriculture, home economics, and 4-H work. There has been some

oscillation in regard to the place of 4-H work—whether it was properly assigned a separate identity or a place in the work of both agricultural agents and home economists. The latter interpretation has been predominant, undoubtedly because of the inability of most counties to support three agents.

An air of adventure, commitment, and cooperation have characterized the whole extension endeavor in Washington. Russell Turner, who worked in Washington State's extension program for nearly forty years, and served in every capacity from county agent to director, conveys the participation that county agents expected from rural people:

> County agents had the job of interpreting and applying a new philosophy of education to rural people. Their starting place was on the farms and with the people in every community in every county of the United States (1961, p. 45).
>
> . . . Their plan of operation encouraged the use of new committees or already working organizations in the communities or county. These emerged as a result of need from the contacts made with farm people. This seemed one logical way farm and home problems could be attacked. The agents showed the farm families the way to group action. The policy developed rapidly—"help people to help themselves" (p. 46).

Or C.B. Smith's idealistic 1924 comments on extension workers:

> . . . With this group at work there need be no fear of the serf or the peasant in America. Instead, we vision [sic] farm homes, the choicest of the earth, and men and women who look upon the earth as holy to be tended and preserved in all its fruitfulness for their children and their children's children throughout the ages; men and women who reach into their own lives and surroundings and find there the satisfactions of life (quoted in Turner, p. 48).

There was a sense of the necessity to earn the respect of the people the agents were serving and a commitment to cooperation and the solution of local problems.

Present-day documents espouse the same goals.

> Extension agents and specialists are often catalysts for change. They are in an excellent position to stimulate and coordinate community action because their role is educationally oriented and broadly gauged.
>
> Extension workers start by finding peoples needs. . . . The people come first—not a predetermined program. (*Extension in Action,* 1972).

On a state-wide basis, the sphere of agriculture includes poultry, agronomy, agricultural economics, dairy, horticulture, entomology, animal husbandry, farm forestry, agricultural engineering, plant pathology, and community organization, as determined by the disciplinary affiliation of state specialists. State home economists specialize in foods, home management, clothing, and family life. The actual interests and concerns of agents differ considerably from county to county.

Jefferson County Extension Service

Jefferson County is large, sparsely populated,* and poor. It covers 1,805 square miles, but the 11,100 people ("County Data Sheet," 1975) are largely clustered in the northeastern corner of the county. Customs Harbour, the county seat, houses more than half the county's population with 5,385 inhabitants (ibid.). Per capita income in Jefferson County is $2,967, compared to a Washington State average of $3,370 (U.S. Census, 1970). Jefferson County employs one extension livestock agent.

Clallam County, with which Jefferson County shares the northern portion of the Olympic Peninsula, is situated to the west, and the two counties collaborate in their extension services. Clallam County employs an area home economist and an area extension horticulture and forestry agent. The two Clallam County agents and the one Jefferson County agent are called "area extension agents" because of their responsibilities in the other county. Bushler Bay's Homemakers' Clubs† are coordinated by the home economist who works and resides in Clallam County. Jefferson County supplies her with travel funds, per diem, and supplies for her work in Jefferson County, but the county share of her salary derives from Clallam County. County extension agents' salaries come from three sources: 38 percent federal Extension Service, 38 percent state Extension Service, and 24 percent county funds.

The fact that extension agents are formally faculty members of Washington State University is important to them, and they are prone to

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*5.6 people per square mile in 1966 (Office of Economic Opportunity Information Center, 1972).

†The first Homemakers' Club was started in 1966, at the instigation of a Public Employee woman in her thirties.

emphasize this fact in their interactions with the citizenry. Although this emphasis increases the status of extension workers, and represents a number of real employment advantages for them, it also sets them apart from the people they try to serve, and represents something of a departure from the homophily that evidently characterized earlier extension efforts.

The extension home economist divides her time between two counties and has responsibilities for many Homemakers' Clubs and for three areas in 4-H. She works with the Homemakers' County Council (composed of representatives from all the clubs in the county) to plan the lessons for the year, puts out a monthly newsletter that goes to all Homemakers, and conducts some of the workshops for leaders from the clubs that one or two members from each club attend. Those members then return to the monthly meeting of their own club, and give the lesson to their fellow members.

The present day reality of extension work in Jefferson County includes relatively little "fieldwork." The agent is part of a rather complex structure that in most cases brings the villagers to her and includes a heavy reliance on the availability of private transportation. It is ironic, and a bit sad, that the Bushler Bay women who join Homemakers are among the most educated in the village and the least in need of further education in regard to homemaking. Indeed, the Bushler Bay Homemakers' Club has always included at least one woman (and sometimes more) with a B.A. in home economics since this study began in 1972.

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